This electronic thesis or dissertation has been downloaded from the King's Research Portal at https://kclpure.kcl.ac.uk/portal/

Insurgency and counter-insurgency in Palestine, 1945-1947.

Charters, D A

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author and no quotation from it or information derived from it may be published without proper acknowledgement.

END USER LICENCE AGREEMENT

Unless another licence is stated on the immediately following page this work is licensed

under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International

licence. https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/

You are free to copy, distribute and transmit the work

Under the following conditions:

- Attribution: You must attribute the work in the manner specified by the author (but not in any way that suggests that they endorse you or your use of the work).
- Non Commercial: You may not use this work for commercial purposes.
- No Derivative Works - You may not alter, transform, or build upon this work.

Any of these conditions can be waived if you receive permission from the author. Your fair dealings and other rights are in no way affected by the above.

Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact librarypure@kcl.ac.uk providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

Download date: 05. May. 2023

NOTE

This thesis has been produced on 8-1/2" x 11" paper because paper of the required A4 size is not available in Fredericton, New Brunswick.

D. A. Charters

BIBL.
LONDIN.
UNIV.

INSURGENCY AND COUNTER-INSURGENCY IN PALESTINE, 1945-1947

by

David Anderson Charters, B.A., M.A. (New Brunswick)

Submitted in Partial Fulfilment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
at
KING'S COLLEGE
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

ABSTRACT

INSURGENCY AND COUNTER-INSURGENCY IN PALESTINE, 1945-1947

David Anderson Charters

This is a study of the relationship of political and military factors in the British counter-insurgency campaign in Palestine between 1945 and 1947.

From 1920 to 1948 Great Britain held the League of Nations Mandate for Palestine under the terms of which Britain was to facilitate the creation in Palestine of a national home for the Jews. The Zionist movement believed that British policy towards the Arabs from 1939 violated the terms of the Mandate in respect of obligations to the Jews. Consequently, after the war Jewish insurgents initiated an armed struggle for national liberation.

The insurgents used terrorism, subversion and propaganda to make Palestine ungovernable by normal means and within acceptable limits in terms of human, political and financial costs. The British Government responded to the challenge with political initiatives and internal security operations.

British political endeavours failed to produce a solution to the Palestine question because it proved impossible to reconcile British strategic interests in the Middle East, Arab claims to Palestine and Jewish aspirations to statehood. In the absence of a political settlement Britain could retain control of Palestine only by coercion.

The security forces, however, lacked a relevant counter-insurgency doctrine and were weak in the critical field of intelligence. Consequently, they were unable to contain the insurgency.

The failure of political efforts and the inability to control violence in Palestine coincided with a period of economic crisis and strategic reassessment in Britain. As a result, the British Government decided in September 1947 to relinquish the Palestine Mandate.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TEXT AND THE FOOTNOTES

AAR	- Annual Administrative Report
AB	- Airborne
AIG	- Assistant Inspector-General
ALFP	- American League for a Free Palestine
AQDJ	- Army Quarterly and Defence Journal
Armd	- Armoured
BBC	- British Broadcasting Corporation
Bde.	- Brigade
BGS	- Brigadier, General Staff
BIS	- British Information Service
BPP	- British Parliamentary Papers
CAB	- Papers of the British Cabinet Office, Public Record Office, Kew, Middlesex
CDC	- Cabinet Defence Committee
CID	- Criminal Investigation Department
CIGS	- Chief of the Imperial General Staff
C in C	- Commander in Chief
CM	- Cabinet Minutes
CO	- Papers of the British Colonial Office, Public Record Office, Kew, Middlesex
COI	- Central Office of Information
COSC	- Chiefs of Staff Committee
COSITINTREP	- Confidential Situation Intelligence Report
CP	- Cabinet Paper
DIG	- Deputy Inspector-General
Div.	- Division
DSP	- District Superintendent of Police
f.	- file/folio
FIN	- Fortnightly Intelligence Newsletter
FIS	- Fortnightly Intelligence Summary
FO	- Papers of the British Foreign Office, Public Record Office, Kew, Middlesex
G	- General Staff

GHQ - General Headquarters
GOC - General Officer Commanding
GS - General Staff
GSI - General Staff, Intelligence
HC - House of Commons
Hon. - Honourable
HQ - Headquarters
IG - Inspector-General
INF - Papers of the British Ministry of Information, Public Record Office, Kew, Middlesex
Inf. - Infantry
IS - Internal Security
ISUM - Intelligence Summary
IZL - Irgun Zvai Leumi
JRUSI - Journal of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies
LHI - Lochmei Heruth Israel
MELF - Middle East Land Forces
MOI - Ministry of Information
NCO - Non-Commissioned Officer
OI - Operational Instruction
OO - Operational Order
OPC - Overseas Planning Committee
Op(s) - Operation(s)
Para. - Parachute
PHP - Post-Hostilities Planning Staff
PIO - Public Information Office
PMF - Police Mobile Force
RAC - Royal Armoured Corps
RAF - Royal Air Force
Regt. - Regiment
RHQ - Regimental Headquarters
RIC - Royal Irish Constabulary
Rt. Hon. - Right Honourable
SAS - Special Air Service

SITREP	- Situation Report
SOE	- Special Operations Executive
Trg	- Training
UNSCOP	- United Nations Special Committee on Palestine
WCP	- War Cabinet Paper
WIR	- Weekly Intelligence Review
WIS	- Weekly Intelligence Summary
WMIR	- Weekly Military Intelligence Review
WO	- Papers of the British War Office, Public Record Office, Kew, Middlesex
WZO	- World Zionist Organization
ZOA	- Zionist Organization of America

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my appreciation to my supervisor, Dr. Wolf Mendl, for his continued guidance and encouragement. I am also grateful to the academic staffs at the Department of War Studies, King's College, and the Department of History, University of New Brunswick for providing the opportunities and atmosphere for stimulating research and discussion.

My thanks are due also to those who have provided information, advice and insights, or who have read chapters in draft and provided comments, or who have made administrative and other arrangements, including visits and research. The list, inevitably, is incomplete:

Dr. G. P. Armstrong, Department of National Defence, Ottawa; Brigadier The Lord Ballantrae; General Sir Evelyn Barker; Field Marshal Sir James Cassels; Sir Richard Catling; The Rt. Hon. Sir Martin Charteris; Mrs. Thelma Clarke, Fredericton; Mrs. Joanna Connell, King's College; Major-General Anthony Deane-Drummond; Dr. Peter Dennis, Royal Military College, Duntroon, Australia; The Hon. Roy Farran, Calgary, Alberta; Dr. Toby Graham, University of New Brunswick; Mr. Monte Harris, Dublin; Lady Kathleen Liddell Hart; Mr. Yisrael Medad, National Studies Institute, Jerusalem; Mr. Dan Nimrod, Montreal; Mrs. Sylvia Smither, King's College; Captain Howard Steers, King's College; Brigadier Maurice Tugwell; Mr. K. M. White, Staff College, Camberley; Professor Paul Wilkinson, University of Aberdeen.

I am particularly indebted to the large number of persons who agreed to be interviewed on the subject of Palestine and whose names are listed in the bibliography.

I am grateful as well for the assistance provided by the staffs of the Public Record Office and the following libraries: The British Library; Harriet Irving Library, University of New Brunswick; Imperial War Museum; Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives, King's College; Middle East Library, St. Antony's College, Oxford; Rhodes House Library, Oxford; Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies; Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University; and the Wiener Library, London.

Finally, I thank my family, and my grandparents in particular, for providing the encouragement and assistance which allowed me to study the subject that interested me.

To make war upon rebellion is messy and slow, like eating soup with a knife.

T. E. Lawrence, 1920.

FOREWORD

Between October 1945 and September 1947 the British Government and its security forces fought a violent, bitter and ultimately unsuccessful campaign against Jewish insurgents determined to establish an independent state in Palestine. The insurgents forced the British to fight a two-front war; a strategic/political battle for legitimacy--the right to govern, and a tactical/military battle for control, the ability to govern. Britain lost both battles in Palestine. This study will attempt to explain why Britain was defeated.

The evidence shows that Britain lost the strategic/political battle because it was unable to reconcile British strategic interests in the Middle East with Arab claims to Palestine and with Jewish demands for an independent state. The absence of a political solution contributed directly to a major increase in the level of violence and forced the British to attempt to retain control of Palestine solely by coercion. The security forces' intelligence services, however, were inadequate for the task. They could neither penetrate and disrupt the insurgent organizations nor anticipate and prevent insurgent operations. Consequently, the security forces could not contain the violence and thus lost the tactical battle for control of Palestine.

The central weakness of the British position lay in the absence of a counter-insurgency strategy. This was the result not only of the failure to develop a policy, which left the security forces to operate without a clear strategic objective. It was also the product of the prevailing state of British civil-military relations. Neither the government nor the army had a clear conception of the

interdependence of the political and military components of the campaign. Consequently, the British never developed a coordinated response to the insurgents' skilful combination of political and military warfare.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In February 1947 Arthur Creech-Jones, Secretary of State for the Colonies, described the Palestine administration as 'virtually a besieged garrison'.[1] Jewish insurgents had kidnapped army officers and had sabotaged the railways. British women and children had been evacuated from Palestine and the remaining officials were forced to live and work in closely guarded security zones. Two and one-half divisions of troops were tied down on apparently endless, if not fruitless, internal security duties. Martial law appeared imminent. Unable to achieve a negotiated settlement of the Palestine problem, the British Government were preparing to turn over to the United Nations the responsibility for resolution of the difficult political question.

This was hardly the outcome anticipated by the British politicians who had drafted the Balfour Declaration in 1917 and who had accepted a League of Nations Mandate to administer Palestine in 1920. In order to place in perspective the post-1945 period, it is essential to consider the evolution of the Palestine situation to that point. Britain acquired control of Palestine through military conquest during the First World War, but before the conquest was complete the British Government made

---

[1] Cabinet Paper (hereafter cited as CP) 59, 'Memorandum by Secretaries of State for the Colonies, and for Foreign Affairs', 13 February 1947, Papers of the British Cabinet Office, Public Record Office, Kew, Middlesex (hereafter cited as CAB), 129/17.

three separate and conflicting commitments with regard to the future of the Middle East and of Palestine in particular.

First, in 1915 Sir Henry McMahon, High Commissioner for Egypt, promised Sharif Hussein of Mecca that in return for Arab assistance in the war against the Turks the British would recognize his claims to an Arab empire at the end of the war. Although the pledge gave the impression that Palestine was to be included in the promised area of Arab independence, the British Government apparently had no intention of ceding control of it once the conquest was complete. Instead, in 1916 the British entered into a secret treaty with France and Russia which would partition the Middle East into British and French protectorates and an independent Arab state. Finally, in 1917 the British Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour committed the British Government to the establishment in Palestine of a 'national home' for the Jewish people.[2]

Elizabeth Monroe has since concluded that solely in terms of British interests the Balfour Declaration was 'one of the greatest mistakes in our imperial history'.[3] In the context of the agreements and understandings undertaken before 1917, she is undoubtedly correct. The terms of the original mandate for Palestine were framed to emphasize the mission of creating the Jewish national home. The British Government accepted responsibility for generating the social, political and economic conditions conducive to establishment of the national home and for facilitating Jewish immigration and settlement in

---

[2] Aaron S. Klieman, 'Britain's War Aims in the Middle East in 1915', Journal of Contemporary History, III (1968), 237-51. The assurances were repeated to the Arabs in 1918.

[3] Elizabeth Monroe, Britain's Moment in the Middle East, 1914-1956 (London, 1963), p. 43.

Palestine. At the same time Britain was to safeguard the civil and religious rights of the indigenous population, and to ensure that Jewish immigration and settlement did not prejudice 'the rights and position of other sections of the population'.[4] The mandate thus implied a dual obligation open to conflicting interpretation. It was challenged virtually from its inception.

The problem was that, quite apart from the special circumstances surrounding Palestine, the creation of mandates accorded neither with the wishes of the indigenous populations nor the wartime promises of independence to the Arabs; this discrepancy contributed directly to the outburst of violence in the area in 1920, and tends to lend weight to the accusations that Britain missed or underestimated the signs of Arab nationalism.[5] In response to the disorder, however, the British Government attempted to honour belatedly its obligations to the Arabs. First, the British made Trans-Jordan a separate entity within the mandate--an amirate under the rule of Abdullah--and later installed Feisal as king of Iraq. Secondly, in 1921-22 the government modified the final terms of the Palestine Mandate in such a way as to de-emphasize the Jewish national home and to reassure the indigenous Arabs that they would not be assimilated by a large influx of Jews. The Arabs were informed that they would not be subordinated to the Jews, whose rate of immigration would be limited by the economic absorptive capacity of the country.[6] However slight, the semantic

---

[4] J. C. Hurewitz, The Struggle for Palestine (New York, 1950; repr. 1976), p. 18.

[5] Monroe, pp. 66-7, 79, 81; Jon Kimche, Seven Fallen Pillars: The Middle East, 1945-1952 (New York, 1953), pp. 28-30, 44-57.

[6] Hurewitz, pp. 20, 21-2.

changes in the language defining the terms of the mandate were significant: they convinced the Arabs that they had a British guarantee that Palestine would not become a Jewish state.

Arab fears were thus assuaged and while Jewish immigration slowed to a trickle in the 1920's communal conflict subsided. Hostility flared again in 1929, however, over the question of religious rights in old Jerusalem. Although the Royal Commission sent to investigate concluded that the violence was the product of frustrated nationalism and revived fears of assimilation,[7] British policy began to waver. First, in 1930 the government issued a new White Paper which stated that Britain's dual obligations were of equal weight but not irreconcilable, yet also recommended restrictions of Jewish immigration and land purchases. At the same time the British Government advised the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations that communal conflict made Palestinian self-government based on cooperation between Arabs and Jews impossible. Then, under pressure from the pro-Zionist lobby, the government reversed in 1931 its policy of the previous year and renounced any restriction on Jewish immigration or land acquisition. The policy remained uncertain because the government did not withdraw or replace the 1930 White Paper.[8]

In the next five years, particularly after the Nazi seizure of power in Germany, Jewish immigration increased substantially, exceeding 60,000 in 1935 alone. Once again Arab fears surfaced and manifested themselves

---

[7] House of Commons Command Paper number [3530], 'Report of the Royal Commission on Palestine Disturbances of August 1929', pp. 161-2, British Parliamentary Papers, Session 1930.

[8] Monroe, p. 81; Hurewitz, pp. 22-3.

in violence; this time the resistance was organized and included a general strike. The Arabs set out to stop Jewish immigration and settlement completely, and to establish an independent Arab state. The British responded with a ponderous, though ultimately successful, counter-insurgency campaign and another Royal Commission. The Commission recommended in 1937 partition as a permanent solution to the Palestine problem, and the government concurred. An intense debate ensued and a second Commission was sent to Palestine to examine the practical and technical aspects of partition. The Jews cautiously accepted partition while the Arabs rejected it out of hand and continued their armed revolt. The debate, the intractability of the problem, the Arab resistance and the developing crisis in Europe combined to produce yet another change in British policy. In November 1938 the government rejected partition. Instead, it convened in February 1939 a conference in London attended by representatives of all parties to the dispute. The British Government advised all concerned that if the conference failed to resolve the issue, the government would impose its own solution; in the event, that is what occurred. In May 1939 the British Government proclaimed a new Palestine policy, in what became known as the White Paper. Its two main clauses provided for: evolution towards an independent Palestinian state within ten years; and restrictions on Jewish immigration--75,000 over the subsequent five years--and land purchases.[9]

---

[9] HC[5479], 'Report of the Palestine Royal Commission', BPP (1937); HC[6019], 'Palestine: A Statement of Policy, BPP (1939); Michael J. Cohen, Palestine: Retreat from the Mandate. The Making of British Policy, 1936-1945 (New York, 1978), pp. 10, 33-49, 62-85; John Marlowe, Rebellion in Palestine (London, 1946), passim; John Marlowe, The

At first examination the 1939 White Paper appears to be a further manifestation of the appeasement policy which characterized the years immediately preceding. Yet, in that it was a further attempt to resolve the contradictions of Britain's First World War diplomacy, its roots are longer and of a substance different from those of appeasement. Moreover, as Monroe has observed, the White Paper was a successful gesture of self-preservation which secured that flank of the empire for the duration of the war.[10] The Arab revolt subsided, its political objectives very nearly achieved, and Britain turned its attention to the crisis in Europe, secure in the knowledge that the lines of communication of the empire, particularly the Suez Canal, were safe at least from internal threats.

The White Paper policy produced grave consequences for Anglo-Jewish relations. At a time when developments in Europe appeared to threaten Jews in particular and Palestine possessed a thriving Jewish community apparently beyond the reach of the Nazis, the White Paper not only rejected the idea of a Jewish state; the immigration restrictions denied to European Jews fleeing persecution a relatively safe refuge. The holocaust, of course, lay in the future and for the time being the Jews had little choice but to ally themselves with Britain against the Nazis. But the lesson of the Arab rebellion was not lost upon certain extreme elements of the Palestinian Jewish community: Britain had capitulated to coercion and the Arabs had achieved their objectives; if the Arabs could succeed by using violence, the Jews could as well. Some of these Jews were frustrated sufficiently by the White

---

Seat of Pilate: An Account of the Palestine Mandate (London, 1959), p. 130: Hurewitz, pp. 77, 78-80, 82-5, 89-93.

[10] Monroe, pp. 88-9.

Paper to consider armed revolt. Once the holocaust began the White Paper's immigration restrictions would be regarded by the Jewish extremists as connivance and complicity in genocide. Ultimately, they came to conclude that British rule in Palestine would have to be destroyed.[11]

The White Paper notwithstanding, the Jews still had many allies in the British Government, not the least of them the new Prime Minister, Winston Churchill. But as Michael Cohen points out, once involved in directing the war Churchill did not feel free to impose his views on the ministers directly involved with Palestine policy, or to oppose the opinions of civil and military authorities in the Middle East who warned almost unanimously of the dangers inherent in diverging from the White Paper policy.[12] Churchill, nonetheless, made his own views very clear in notes to cabinet in April 1943:

> I cannot agree that the White Paper is "the firmly established policy" of His Majesty's Government. I have always regarded it as a gross breach of faith . . . in respect of obligations to which I was personally a party. . . . It runs until it is superceded.[13]

He felt he could not contemplate any absolute cessation of immigration into Palestine at the discretion of an Arab majority whose demands had been met by the British in 1939, but who had been of no use during the war and thus had created no new claims upon the allies.[14] Against a background of a receding German threat to the

---

[11] See Chapter V.

[12] Cohen, pp. 160-1.

[13] Churchill to Lord Privy Seal and Colonial Secretary, 18 April 1943, in Winston S. Churchill, The Second World War: The Hinge of Fate (London, 1956), IV, 758.

[14] War Cabinet Paper (hereafter cited as WCP) 178, 'Note by Prime Minister', 28 April 1943, CAB 66/36.

Middle East and increasing Zionist agitation in Palestine, Britain and the United States in opposition to the existing policy, the Cabinet appointed in July 1943 a subcommittee to consider and report to Cabinet on a new long-term policy for Palestine. Taking the 1937 Royal Commission report as a starting point, the committee recommended in December 1943 that the British Government adopt partition as the solution to the problem. While granting that the Arabs might oppose the scheme, the committee recommended that the government accept the risks involved and implement partition whatever the opposition. The committee felt their scheme met to the utmost practical extent the conflicting claims of Arabs and Jews.[15]

The Cabinet endorsed the report in January 1944, but the committee did not commence work on a final scheme until August. In the interim all the British representatives in the Middle East, with the exception of the High Commissioner of Palestine, advised against partition in view of the likely effect on Anglo-Arab relations. Once again the government began to vacillate. In June Churchill, influenced perhaps by his advisers and the knowledge that an American election was shortly to occur, agreed that the Cabinet should postpone a decision on Palestine policy. When Jewish terrorists assassinated Lord Moyne, Minister Resident in the Middle East, in November 1944 Churchill directed that the committee's second report, concerning the technical details of partition, be held over to a more appropriate moment.[16]

In February 1945 the Colonial Secretary, aware

---

[15] WCP 563, 'Report of War Cabinet Committee on Palestine', 20 December 1943, CAB 66/44; Cohen, pp. 161, 163-4.

[16] Winston S. Churchill, The Second World War: Triumph and Tragedy (London, 1956), VI, 546; Cohen, pp. 171-9.

that the White Paper immigration quota would be exhausted before the end of the year, urged the Cabinet either to approve partition or to produce a better option. But the balance of opinion now opposed partition, the new High Commissioner and Lord Moyne's replacement adding their voices to the opposition. Sir Edward Grigg, the new Minister Resident, took up Colonel Stanley's challenge and presented a proposal for an international trust scheme in which Arabs and Jews would share power in governing a unitary Palestine, while an international body representing the major powers and the Arabs and Jews would decide immigration policy. The Foreign Office, moreover, would take responsibility for Palestine.[17]

Whatever their merits or faults, neither plan was adopted by the government, for in July 1945 Churchill was defeated in a general election. The Labour Party formed the new government and commenced to examine the Palestine policy afresh.

---

[17] WCP 214, 'Note by Minister Resident in the Middle East', 4 April 1945, and WCP 229, 'Memorandum by Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs', 10 April 1945, CAB 66/64; Cohen, pp. 179-80.

CHAPTER II

BRITISH PALESTINE POLICY, 1945-1947

During the Second World War the Labour Party had supported consistently the Zionist cause; in May 1945 the Party conference endorsed resolutions calling for abrogation of the White Paper policy and favouring unlimited Jewish immigration into Palestine. Ninety Members of Parliament went on record supporting the Zionist movement. Once in power, however, the Labour Party ascertained very quickly, as John Marlowe has observed, that 'the future of Palestine was no longer a matter in which H.M.G. was a free agent'.[1] The new government, as Matthew Fitzsimons notes, was heir to a complex series of arrangements which could not be scrutinized all at once; each commitment involved others.[2] Moreover, since each commitment involved vested interests of different branches of the government, each had its supporters in the Cabinet.

The Foreign Office, under the forceful leadership of Ernest Bevin, urged the Cabinet to adopt a policy which would not alienate the Arabs, in order to protect British interests in the whole Middle East region. Bevin regarded Middle East oil as an essential element of Britain's

---

[1] Yehuda Bauer, From Diplomacy to Resistance: A History of Jewish Palestine, 1939-1945 (New York, 1973), p. 348; George Kirk, The Middle East 1945-1950: Survey of International Affairs (London, 1954), V, 190; Marlowe, Seat of Pilate, p. 181; Hurewitz, p. 227. Of the 90 MPs cited above, 26 were Jewish.

[2] Matthew A. Fitzsimons, Empire by Treaty: Britain and the Middle East in the Twentieth Century (London, 1965), p. 54.

economic well-being, a significant consideration at a time when the government was trying to rebuild and restructure the British economy.[3] It appears that Bevin was heavily influenced by the advice of British representatives in the Middle East and of Harold Beeley, one of his principal advisers. One former Colonial Office official commented later that 'One wondered how much of the thinking was Bevin and how much was Harold Beeley.'[4] In his view, Beeley felt that

> a process took place which can be called the "absorption" of a minister by his department. He read our material and within the first few weeks he came to the conclusion, . . . that the traditional Labour Party policy was wrong. It's not true that Bevin was "got grip of" by the Foreign Office. But it was only by becoming a minister in charge of a department that he could become fully informed of the issues.[5]

In his approach to the Palestine problem Bevin had influential allies in the Chiefs of Staff. Like Bevin, they felt that British interests, consisting of oil, bases, and the lines of communication to the Empire would be best served by maintaining good relations with the Arabs.[6] Jon

---

[3] Cabinet Minutes (hereafter cited as CM), 4 Oct. 1945, CAB 128/1; Nicholas Bethell, The Palestine Triangle: The Struggle Between the British, the Jews and the Arabs, 1935-1948 (London, 1979), p. 293; Monroe, p. 163, Fitzsimons, p. 53.

[4] Chiefs of Staff Committee (hereafter cited as COSC) Paper 443, 'Middle East Policy: Comments of His Majesty's Representatives in Washington and Mid-East on Palestine Policy', 10 July 1945, CAB 80/95; His Majesty's Representative Jedda to Foreign Office, 14 Oct. 1945, Papers of the British Colonial Office, Public Record Office, Kew, Middlesex (hereafter cited as CO) 733/461; Sir John Martin, interview with author, 10 May 1978.

[5] Bethell, p. 202.

[6] Post-Hostilities Planning Staff (hereafter cited as PHP) Paper 10 (0) (Final), 'Security in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East', 27 Mar. 1945, CAB 79/31.

Kimche insists that oil was the most influential factor committing Britain to its Middle East strategy,[7] but this view ignores Britain's long-established imperial interest in the area. Phillip Darby has observed:

> Although at times the protection of the routes of communication, the defence of the Far Eastern territories, or the maintenance of Britain's position in the Middle East became the focus of attention it was generally understood that the security of India was Britain's overriding concern. In this sense the protection of India was part of an ingrained pattern of thought. It was above politics: it went beyond the issue of the moment. It was the touchstone to which policy must return: the ultimate justification for a defensive system which spanned half the world.[8]

Given the central position of India in the concept of imperial defence, it followed logically that the lines of communication would have to be preserved and protected; the Chiefs of Staff felt that bases in the Middle East would best serve that purpose. Such bases would be essential in any future war with the Soviet Union, regarded by the Chiefs of Staff as the major external threat to the region. Since the Egyptian Government was demanding that the British remove their Middle East headquarters and base from Egypt--even though the 1936 treaty provided for a continued British presence in the canal zone--Palestine was the obvious alternative base area for Britain's Middle East forces. The Arabs, moreover, were threatening to seek Soviet support if British policies did not suit them, and George Kirk believes that as the Americans did not appear concerned about the Soviet threat to the Middle East, the British Government assumed responsibility for meeting the challenge and that this

---

[7] Kimche, Seven Fallen Pillars, pp. 3-23.

[8] Phillip Darby, British Defence Policy East of Suez, 1947-1968 (London, 1973), p. 1.

introduced an element of caution into British policy in the area.[9] These perceptions of the situation in the Middle East thus convinced the Chiefs of Staff that British policy should favour the Arabs over the Jews.

The Colonial Office view was that a solution should be produced as soon as possible in order to prevent or contain the violence it regarded as almost inevitable. To this end the Colonial Office favoured partition of Palestine, although not to the exclusion of any other promising suggestion.[10] Constitutionally responsible for the internal administration of British colonies and protectorates, the Colonial Office nonetheless traditionally followed the lead of the senior British officials on the spot[11]--in this case the High Commissioner for Palestine, General Sir Alan Cunningham, an ardent proponent of the partition solution. Cunningham recalls:

> In June 1946 I wired home something in these terms--"The sands are running out. I am now definitely of the opinion that the only hope of getting a peaceful solution of the Palestine problem is to introduce a plan for partition. If this is not done at once I can see no hope for a peaceful solution."[12]

---

[9] PHP Paper 10 (0) (Final), 27 March 1945, CAB 79/31; Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery of Alamein, The Memoirs of Field Marshal Montgomery (London, 1958), p. 436; Kirk, pp. 3-6.

[10] Cabinet Palestine Committee minutes, 6 Sept. 1945, CAB 95/14; Hall to Attlee, 19 Sept. 1945, CO 733/461; CP 196, 'Memorandum by Secretary of State for the Colonies', 28 Sept. 1945, CAB 129/2.

[11] David Goldsworthy, Colonial Issues in British Politics, 1945-1961 (London, 1971), pp. 15, 41-2; J. M. Lee, Colonial Development and Good Government: A Study of the Ideas Expressed by the British Official Classes in Planning Decolonization, 1939-1964 (Oxford, 1967), pp. 12, 34.

[12] 'Note by General Sir Alan Cunningham', Index to Papers as High Commissioner, Sir Alan Cunningham Papers

The Colonial Office view accorded neatly with the government's colonial policy which rejected economic imperialism and which dictated that the test of any policy should be the advantage the policy accorded to the colony--not to Britain.[13] But a policy which supported partition and which was opposed in principal to economic imperialism conflicted directly with the views of the Foreign Office and the Chiefs of Staff.

The Prime Minister, on the other hand, had to consider domestic priorities, primarily the conversion of the economy to peacetime standards while carrying out Labour policy to nationalize certain sectors of the economy and to provide a greater range of social services. This was by no means an easy task since the war had cost Britain about half of its foreign investments and a third of its merchant fleet; in 1945 Britain was spending abroad more than twice its earnings. The British economy had become dependent upon American assistance and in August 1945 the Lend-Lease Agreement ended, a severe blow to the economy. The end of the war, moreover, found British forces deployed around the world and this major drain on the economy could be righted only by demobilization, redeployment from overseas, and substantially reduced defence spending.[14] Such

---

(hereafter cited as Cunningham Papers), Box IV, File 2, Middle East Library, St. Antony's College, Oxford.

[13] Statement by Arthur Creech-Jones, 9 July 1946, Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 5th Series, Vol. CDXXV, columns 342-6, cited in Goldsworthy, p. 140.

[14] Clement Attlee, As It Happened (New York, 1954), pp. 228-31; C. J. Bartlett, The Long Retreat: A Short History of British Defence Policy, 1945-70 (London, 1972), pp. 9, 11-3; R. N. Rosecrance, Defense of the Realm: British Strategy in the Nuclear Epoch (New York, 1968), pp. 34-5; William P. Snyder, The Politics of British Defence Policy, 1945-1962 (Columbus, Ohio, 1964), pp. 206-7, 216.

action would accord with anti-colonialist sentiment in the Labour Party and in the United States,[15] but would find little favour with the Chiefs of Staff. The need to rebuild the economy, however, brought domestic policy and foreign policy into harmony on at least one issue: the need for Middle East oil, hence the need to retain Arab good will.

Although there were periodic reports of disagreement within the Cabinet over the Palestine question,[16] it appears that this was not a major factor in the policy-making process. As indicated earlier, the Foreign Office view had considerable support within the Cabinet solely on the basis of the Cabinet's perceptions of Britain's long-term interests in the area. Bevin's force of character, moreover, usually allowed his views to predominate. The decisions to give the United Nations responsibility for solving the problem and to withdraw from Palestine rather than implement the UNSCOP recommendations were consistent with perceived British interests.[17] The only opposition from within came from Arthur Creech-Jones, Colonial Secretary from October 1946, an ardent supporter of partition.

---

[15] Monroe, p. 151; Hurewitz, pp. 215, 258; Cohen, p. 153.

[16] Diary of Field Marshall Viscount Alanbrooke (hereafter cited as Alanbrooke Diary), Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives, King's College, University of London, 5/11, 4 Oct. 1945; Bethell, p. 295; The Palestine Post, 9 February 1947.

[17] Francis Williams, A Prime Minister Remembers: The War and Post-War Memoirs of the Rt. Hon. Earl Attlee (London, 1961), pp. 179-80; Francis Williams, interview with Elizabeth Monroe, Papers of Elizabeth Monroe (hereafter cited as Monroe Papers), Middle East Library, St. Antony's College, Oxford; Arthur Creech-Jones, interview with Elizabeth Monroe, 29 Oct. 1958, Monroe Papers; Creech-Jones to Callaghan, 30 Nov. 1961, Papers of Arthur Creech-Jones, Box 32, File 3, f. 14, Rhodes House Library, Oxford.

But during his term as under-secretary he had been excluded from all discussion of Palestine and by the time he took office the prevailing opinion in Cabinet was opposed to partition. He was, in any case, no match for Bevin in the 'give and take' of political bargaining. Consequently, as Francis Williams recalls, although there were murmurs against Bevin outside of Cabinet, decisions within were unanimous.[18]

A second area where there was a general consensus in Cabinet was the decision to involve the United States in the attempt to resolve the problem.[19] The idea of involving the Americans was not unique to the Labour Party; before he was defeated in the general election in July 1945 Churchill himself had stated:

> I do not think that we should take the responsibility upon ourselves of managing this very difficult place while the Americans sit back and criticize. Have you ever addressed yourself to the idea that we should ask them to take it over? I believe we should be the stronger the more they are drawn into the Mediterranean. . . . I am not aware of the slightest advantage which has ever accrued to Great Britain from this painful and thankless task. Somebody else should have their turn now.[20]

President Truman's intervention in the Jewish refugee question in August 1945 provided the British Government with a pretext for asking the Americans to share in the decision-making. Truman had endorsed the Zionist cause as a senator and once in office those views and his humanitarian concern for Jewish refugees impelled him to try to influence British policy in that direction.

---

[18] Creech-Jones to Callaghan, 30 Nov. 1961; Francis Williams interview, Monroe Papers; Bethell, pp. 294-6, 301; Goldsworthy, pp. 14-6, 50-1.

[19] Bethell, p. 211.

[20] Churchill to Stanley, 6 July 1945, CAB 119/147.

On 16 August 1945 he stated publicly that the United States Government felt that as many Jewish refugees as possible should be permitted to enter Palestine. He followed up this statement with a personal letter to Prime Minister Attlee on 31 August urging him to admit 100,000 Jews to Palestine immediately.[21] Truman's insistence on the matter of refugees annoyed Attlee but on the initiative of Ernest Bevin, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the British Government 'turned the tables' on the Americans in October by proposing a joint commission to examine the refugee problem. After his public pronouncements Truman could hardly refuse. On 13 November the two governments announced the establishment of the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry, which would consult all concerned parties and make its recommendations to the two governments and ultimately to the United Nations. Bevin stated that the British Government would abide by the recommendations of an unanimous report. Enthusiastically, if unwisely, he declared at this time that he was staking his political future on the resolution of the Palestine question.[22] In September 1947, however, the British Government was no closer to a settlement that would accommodate the interests of the British, the Arabs, and the Jews. The evidence afforded by the policy-making process during the intervening two years suggests why no such accommodation was possible.

---

[21] Robert J. Donovan, Conflict and Crisis: The Presidency of Harry S. Truman, 1945-1948 (New York, 1977), pp. 312-4; The Public Papers of the Presidents: Harry S. Truman, 1945 (Washington, D.C., 1961-63), p. 228; Truman to Attlee, 31 August 1945, Papers of the British Foreign Office, Public Record Office, Kew, Middlesex (hereafter cited as FO) 371/45380.

[22] Attlee to Truman, 14, 17 Sept. 1945, FO 371/45380; CM, 4 Oct. 1945, CAB 128/1; 'Proposed Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry', 9 Oct. 1945, CO 773/463; Christopher Sykes, Cross Roads to Israel (London, 1965), pp. 337-9.

Through the winter of 1945-46 the commission of six British and six American politicians held hearings and received evidence in Washington, London, Europe, Palestine, Cairo and elsewhere in the Middle East. American Zionist groups, the Jewish Agency, the Arab League, British officials in the area, the Palestine Government and other interested parties testified before the commission. The British Government extended the Jewish immigration quota by 1,500 per month following expiry of the White Paper limit, but illegal immigration and terrorism continued.[23] The main recommendations of the commission's unanimous report, released on 30 April 1946, were: first, that 100,000 Jewish refugees be allowed to immigrate into Palestine as soon as possible; secondly, that the mandate be converted into a United Nations trusteeship which would prepare Palestine for independence as a unified binational state; and finally, that Jewish official institutions resume cooperation with the Palestine Government in the suppression of terrorism and illegal immigration.[24] Reaction to the report was mixed and these responses played a significant role in the sequence of events which determined the outcome of this phase of policy-making.

President Truman was delighted that the report vindicated his position on the refugee question and stated publicly that the transfer of the 100,000 Jewish refugees should be carried out 'with the greatest dispatch'.[25] The British Government, however, was not so sanguine. It was

---

[23] Hurewitz, pp. 236-44. The Jewish Agency was the senior official Jewish organization under the mandate.

[24] HC[6808], 'Report of the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry Regarding the Problems of European Jewry and Palestine', BPP (1946).

[25] Truman, Public Papers 1946, p. 218.

not prepared to proceed further without assurance that the Americans were prepared to share the military and financial burden of implementing the report. Influenced perhaps by the murder of seven British soldiers by Jewish insurgents in Tel Aviv only days before the report was released, Attlee and Bevin responded sharply to what they perceived as Truman's selective endorsement of the report. The Prime Minister stated that the government could not implement the recommendations until the 'illegal armies' were disbanded. Field Marshal Alanbrooke, Chief of the Imperial General Staff, probably summarized the Cabinet's attitude accurately when he called the report 'a futile document, which puts us in a more difficult position than ever. If they had made any further immigration dependent upon their surrender of arms and abolition of the Jewish Army there might have been some sense in their recommendations.'[26]

The report did not please the Arabs or the Jews. Further large-scale immigration was unacceptable to the Arabs and they rejected that suggestion out of hand. Jewish reaction ranged from outright denunciation by the extreme Zionist factions because the recommendations did not include the creation of a Jewish state, to cautious acceptance by moderate Zionists who were pleased by the immigration recommendation. They took exception, however, to the British Government's insistence on disbandment of the insurgent organizations; despite assurances from the Foreign Office that this did not mean Britain had rejected the commission's proposals, the insurgent organizations regarded it as proof of British duplicity--Britain was not abiding by its promise to implement a unanimous report.

---

[26] Hansard, 5th ser., CDXXII, 195-7; Kirk, p. 215; Alanbrooke Diary, 24 April 1946; see also Chapter VI.

Consequently the insurgents refused to surrender their arms.[27]

British actions reinforced this viewpoint. On 5 May the Foreign Office announced that decisions on the commission's report would have to await consultation with the American Government and Jewish and Arab leaders. The delay enraged the Jewish community and drew criticism from the Labour Party membership at the annual party conference at Bournemouth. In response to this criticism Bevin stated that because of the existence of the illegal armies Britain would have to send another army division to Palestine if the 100,000 refugees were to be admitted, and he was not prepared to send the necessary troops. Bevin's speech, the delays, and the alleged discovery of government plans to destroy the Jewish underground organizations were used by the insurgents to justify a major terrorist offensive in Palestine in June; the British responded with a large-scale internal security operation intended to break up the illegal armies.[28]

In July British and American delegations met in London to draft proposals for implementing the commission's report. They agreed on a federal state plan which divided Palestine into Jewish and Arab provinces and a central government district, all under British control. The United States would grant $50 million to develop the Arab area. If, however, the plan had to be imposed by force Britain was unwilling to do so alone; the American Government,

---

[27] GHQ Middle East Forces, 'Weekly Military Intelligence Review' (hereafter cited as WMIR), 3, 10 May 1946; Papers of the British War Office, Public Record Office, Kew, Middlesex (hereafter cited as WO) 169/22882; 1 Infantry Division, 'Intelligence Review', 7 May 1946, WO 169/22957; Hurewitz, pp. 249-50.

[28] Kirk, pp. 217-8; Palestine Post, 13 June 1946; see also Chapter VI.

which had already committed itself financially to transporting and resettling refugees, refused to agree to commit American forces.[29] The Provincial Autonomy plan came under attack immediately by American Zionists and the former American members of the Anglo-American Commission, who regarded the proposal as an outright rejection of the commission's recommendations. Warned by his advisers that support of the plan might cost the Democratic Party Jewish votes in the off-year elections, Truman rejected the Provincial Autonomy scheme and recalled his delegation. He urged the British to consider a new plan forwarded by the Jewish Agency.[30]

Implicated in the June insurgent offensive, many of its leaders detained by the security forces, the Jewish Agency had capitulated to British force majeure. In a significant retreat from its Zionist program, the Agency put forward a partition proposal for a Jewish state in 'an adequate area of Palestine'.[31] The British Government insisted, however, that its own Provincial Autonomy plan head the agenda of a proposed London conference, although the other participants could advance counter-proposals. But the Jews refused to attend unless their detained leaders were released and allowed to represent them. The government refused to permit this, so the conference opened on 9 September without Jewish representation, and the

---

[29] CP 259, 'Long Term Policy in Palestine: Memorandum by Secretary of State for the Colonies', 8 July 1946, CAB 129/11; 'Note of Points Agreed in Conversation with Foreign Secretary', 10 July 1946, FO 371/52538; Bethell, p. 257; Hurewitz, pp. 250, 257.

[30] Donovan, pp. 319-20; Evan M. Wilson, 'The Palestine Papers, 1943-1947', Journal of Palestine Studies, II (1973), 51.

[31] Washington to Foreign Office, 9 August 1946, FO 371/52551; see also Chapter VI.

Agency's plan was never discussed. The Palestinian Arabs also boycotted the talks, for similar reasons. The delegates representing several Arab states and the Arab League rejected the Provincial Autonomy plan and presented their own proposals for an independent Arab state. The conference adjourned after one week, having accomplished nothing.[32]

The end of the conference brought this phase of policy-making virtually to a close. It remained only for President Truman to bury the joint Anglo-American initiative with one more public statement on immigration and the Jewish Agency's partition plan. Attlee responded angrily, convinced that Truman's statement was little more than a cheap ploy to win votes at British expense.[33] The Palestine question was then set aside for several momths while the Cabinet dealt with other matters. In Palestine itself the situation deteriorated.

The London conference reconvened at the end of January 1947. Bevin had intended to lay before the participants a scheme which would merge the Provincial Autonomy and Arab plans of 1946, producing an independent Arab state with several Jewish cantons. Increased Jewish immigration would be permitted for a limited period. The Cabinet, however, revived partition which was also submitted to the conference. Not surprisingly, the Arabs rejected partition once again, and the Jews refused to agree to the cantonment plan. Bevin then redrafted a variation of the cantonment proposal: local autonomy for Jewish and Arab areas under British supervision and

---

[32] 'Palestine Policy: London Conference: Summary of Proceedings', CO 733/464; Williams, pp. 199-200; see also Chapter VI.

[33] Truman, Public Papers 1946, p. 44; Donovan, p. 320' Bethell, pp. 282-3.

independence after five years; 100,000 Jewish immigrants during the first two years of trusteeship, after which immigration would depend upon Arab consent; and after independence, safeguards to protect the Jewish minority. Both sides rejected the plan and the conference ended shortly thereafter. On 18 February Bevin announced that the British Government intended to refer the Palestine problem to the United Nations.[34]

On 15 May 1947 the United Nations General Assembly, acting at British request, appointed an eleven-nation Special Committee on Palestine. UNSCOP travelled to Palestine, Lebanon, and Europe, where it received testimony from many of the same organizations and persons who had spoken to the Anglo-American Commission. Trans-Jordan and the Arab Higher Committee--which represented the Palestinian Arabs--declined to appear. UNSCOP presented its report on 31 August 1947. The Committee agreed on certain basic principles: that Palestine should become an independent state as soon as possible; that it should have a democratic political structure and should constitute a single economic entity. There was, however, considerable disagreement on the manner by which these principles should be implemented. The result was a majority report recommending partition, and a minority report favouring a federal state plan.[35] Unwilling to be saddled with the enforcement of a solution that might involve further cost in lives and money without

---

[34] CM, 7, 14 Feb. 1947, CAB 128/9; CP 30, 'Palestine--Memorandum by Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs', 14 Jan. 1947, CP 31, 'Palestine: Future Policy--Memorandum by Secretary of State for the Colonies', 16 Jan. 1947, CAB 129/16; CP 59, 'Palestine--Memorandum by Secretary of State for the Colonies and Foreign Affairs', 13 Feb. 1947, CAB 129/17; Bethell, pp. 293-7.

[35] Bethell, pp. 312-3; Hurewitz, pp. 284-6, 289-90, 295-8.

gaining any advantage for Britain, the British Government had refused to commit itself in advance to accepting or enforcing UNSCOP's recommendations. In view of Arab opposition to the majority recommendation, it was reluctant to so commit itself now. On 26 September 1947, therefore, the British Government announced its intention to surrender the Mandate and withdraw the administration and security forces from Palestine.[36]

The British Government failed to develop a policy on the Palestine problem because it was not possible to accommodate Arab, British, and Jewish aspirations in a single solution. This failure exerted a significant influence on the course of the conflict in Palestine. First, the British refusal to adopt a policy acceptable to the Jews--substantially increased immigration at the very least--undermined the moderates in the Zionist movement and allowed the extremists to predominate. It contributed directly, therefore, to the increase in violence in the 1945-47 period.[37] Secondly, the absence of a policy forced the civil administration to rely almost solely on coercion to retain control of Palestine. It also denied the security forces a clear strategic objective in their counter-insurgency campaign and left them to apply repression in a political vacuum.

---

[36] CM, 20 Sept. 1947, CAB 128/10; Bethell, pp. 344, 346; Hurewitz, p. 299; Sykes, p. 385.

[37] See Chapter VIII.

CHAPTER III

COUNTER-INSURGENCY DOCTRINE

When General Cunningham took up the position of High Commissioner in November 1945 he was told simply that the broad intention was 'to keep the peace in Palestine'.[1] This general directive defined the tactical role of the security forces in Palestine. Middle East Training Pamphlet no. 9, Part 13, 'Notes for Officers on Internal Security Duties' provided the army with a body of tactical doctrine for the peacekeeping role. The basic principles were: the application of the minimum degree of force necessary to achieve the object of any operations; and the need for close cooperation between the army and the civil authorities, specifically the police. The pamphlet discussed in detail procedures for mobile columns; curfews; search operations; riot control; vehicle convoys; and the use of armoured vehicles and aircraft. The manual also covered legal aspects of internal security operations, training, and administrative matters such as accommodation, welfare, morale and discipline of troops.[2] It was a comprehensive document, but Army headquarters in Palestine also distributed supplementary instructions covering civil-military relations and responsibility for internal security. They defined the powers of the military forces under the

---

[1] 'Extract from Note on Points Raised with Secretary of State by the High Commissioner', 14 Nov. 1945, CO 733/461.

[2] G (Training) Branch, GHQ Middle East Forces, war diary, WO 169/19521.

emergency regulations to make arrests and to detain persons without trial, to conduct searches, to use lethal force, to impose curfews, and to try suspected insurgents before military courts. An important aspect of these arrangements was the dual system of control in Palestine: the civil authority--the High Commissioner and the government--was supreme, but operational control of the security forces, and thus the responsibility for maintaining law and order, was vested in the General Officer Commanding (GOC) British Forces in Palestine.[3]

Other headquarters and formations prepared still more detailed instructions on tactical procedures. The Armoured Corps staff at GHQ Middle East Forces issued a study on the use of armoured forces for tasks such as road patrols, convoy protection, clearance and occupation of urban areas. The limitations and vulnerability of armoured vehicles in urban conflict were emphasized.[4] The 6th Airborne Division produced a brief on air support for internal security which included command and control procedures and the description of a new technique called the 'Air Pin' in which aircraft could be used to keep inhabitants inside a village while the army was laying a cordon around it.[5] In view of the political sensitivity of operations in Palestine higher authorities produced directives on several potentially controversial issues. The use of tear gas was

---

[3] G Branch, HQ Palestine, 'Operational Instruction (hereafter cited as OI) no. 21', 27 Oct. 1945, WO 169/19745; see also Appendix II.

[4] 'Notes on I.S. Duties with Armd Units', in Brigadier RAC GHQ Middle East Forces to CGS, 6 Nov. 1945, WO 169/19566.

[5] HQ 6 Airborne Division, 'Notes on Air Support for Internal Security Operations', October 1945, WO 169/19685.

discussed extensively and approved at Cabinet level.[6] The Chiefs of Staff Committee restricted the use of heavy weapons in areas likely to involve risk of innocent civilian casualties or damage to holy places. Discretion to approve use was vested in the Commanders-in-Chief Middle East, but was delegated to the GOC Palestine.[7] In March 1945 the War Office issued to Middle East Forces a study on guerrilla warfare prepared in December 1944 for the forthcoming Allied occupation of Germany. The paper discussed the strengths, weaknesses, and tactics of guerrilla forces and advised that offensive action by security forces--drives against centres of resistance, pursuit of sabotage bands, and searches--was the most effective weapon against guerrillas. Counter-guerrilla operations were seen as purely military operations.[8]

Assisted by this apparent wealth of literature and doctrine, all formations commenced internal security training on arrival in Palestine. The training was essential because, as Major-General Anthony Deane-Drummond has observed,

> the change in role from conventional military operations to internal security and para-military duties is neither rapid nor easy. Intense--and time-consuming--periods of training are required to prepare troops tactically and psychologically for a role which although less lethal in terms of overall casualties than

---

[6] WO 32/10837; War Cabinet Minutes, 13 Nov. 1944, CAB 65/44.

[7] COSC, Minutes of Meetings 1945, CAB 79/28-9; Joint Planning Committee Paper 30, 'Use of Heavy Weapons in the Middle East', 15 Feb. 1945, CAB 84/6; GHQ Middle East Forces to HQ Palestine, 4 Jan. 1946, WO 169/22879. The term heavy weapons included naval bombardment, close air support, artillery and mortar fire.

[8] War Office, 'Guerrilla Warfare', December 1944, issued to Middle East Forces, 14 Mar. 1945, WO 169/19521.

conventional war is equally demanding and stressful.[9] First, the troops had to adjust their thinking from combat to peacekeeping. Secondly, the individual soldier had to learn the basic principles and tactical procedures laid down in the manuals, instructions, and directives, as well as acquainting himself with the structure of the police, the administration, and the two ethnic communities. This indoctrination process was particularly important for the 6th Airborne Division, which had been sent to Palestine at short notice and did not have time to adapt gradually to the situation.[10] Training was conducted at two levels: training teams from GHQ Middle East Forces taught street and house clearing and command and control of a company-sized mobile column. Formations and headquarters, in accordance with the basic manual, carried out signals exercises and tactical exercises without troops covering cordon and search operations and suppression of large scale insurrection. Two brigades, however, did not have time to run exercises before the first incidents at the end of October.[11]

The army tried to compensate for such gaps as there were in procedures or training by a continuous process of revising techniques on the basis of operational experience. Formations constantly refined roadblock techniques, as this was felt to be the best weapon against the highly mobile insurgents. The new methods included predesignated road-block locations which would be occupied rapidly following

---

[9] Anthony Deane-Drummond, Riot Control (London, 1975), p. 64.

[10] R. D. Wilson, Cordon and Search: With 6th Airborne Division in Palestine (Aldershot, 1949), pp. 19-20.

[11] 12 GHQ Training Team, war diary 1945, WO 169/19621; see also WO 169/19656, 19697, 19699, 19701, 19703, 19743.

an incident, and mobile roadblocks which could be mounted briefly at random locations on principal roads.[12] Headquarters Palestine stressed constantly the need for close cooperation between the army and the police, for two reasons: first, the police were understrength and thus needed the army's manpower to help them to carry out their tasks; and secondly, the cooperation demanded by internal security theory did not always materialize in practice. Apart from providing additional manpower, efforts to improve collaboration included the designation of specific army units to advise and assist in the physical security of individual police stations and to monitor constantly police radio frequencies in order to provide immediate assistance in the event of attack.[13] While in Egypt the 2nd Infantry Brigade held a two-day study period on tactical problems and procedures for internal security.[14]

The series of search operations conducted in June 1946 proved valuable in exposing inadequacies in search procedures. Reports by the 1st Guards Brigade indicated

---

[12] HQ Palestine, 'Directive--Searches and Road Checks', January 1946, WO 169/23021; HQ 3 Inf. Div., 'Directive no. 1--Information from I.S. Ops', 23 Jan. 1946, 'Directive no. 3--Further Lessons of Recent Ops', 6 Feb. 1946, 'Directive no. 5--Further Lessons: Roadblocks', 19 Feb. 1946, WO 169/22967; HQ 3 Inf. Bde, 'Roadblocks', 5 Apr. 1946, WO 169/22995.

[13] HQ Palestine, 'OI no. 67--Military Cum Police Operations', 17 June 1946, WO 169/23022; HQ Palestine, Combined Military and Police Action (June 1947), pp. 8-9, Private Papers of Mr. John Briance, London: HQ 3 Inf. Div., 'Directive no. 6' and 'Directive no. 7--Wireless Communications--Coordination with Palestine Police Network', 25 Feb. 1946, WO 169/22967; HQ 9 Inf. Bde.,'Internal Security Instruction no. 5', 2 Mar. 1946, WO 169/23003; see also Chapter IV.

[14] HQ 2 Inf. Bde.,'Brigade I.S. Study Period--General Summary and Notes', 6 Mar. 1946, WO 169/22993.

requirements for: unarmed troops to deal with passive resistance; special equipment and expert searchers to locate hidden arms; improved techniques and Hebrew interpreters to hasten identification and interrogation; reserve troops to relieve weary search teams; and above all, secrecy and surprise in executing operations.[15]

This body of doctrine and experience notwithstanding, there was a significant weakness in the army's internal security method: the strategic objectives of the Jewish insurgents were political, but British internal security doctrine took no account of the political context of the conflict.

That this was the case should not be surprising. The history of the British Army's involvement in internal security, and the traditions and professional assumptions of the army itself, mitigated against consideration of the political aspects of warfare. From the Restoration until the creation of regular police forces in the 19th Century the army was primarily responsible for enforcing law and order in Britain. But it was neither a satisfactory nor a popular arrangement, disliked by soldiers, politicians, and the public alike. The memory of Cromwell's military dictatorship stimulated opposition to the use of the army for internal policing, and the creation of civilian police forces marked a significant change in civil-military relations. By the end of the century the army was called out with declining frequency as the police became more proficient in dealing with civil disorder, and through a process of trial and error the basic principles of 'Aid to the Civil Power' emerged: the concept of minimum force, and the primacy of the civil power and the law, to which

---

[15] Brigadier E. H. Goulburn to HQ 1 Inf. Div./North Palestine District, 21 June 1946, and 1 Guards Bde.,'Report on Op AGATHA 29 June-1 July 1946', WO 169/22989.

the army was subject individually and collectively.[16] Robin Higham has observed that soldiers not only detested aid to the civil power, they probably feared it,[17] and with good reason: acting in this capacity soldiers found themselves bound by two sets of laws--civil and military--and the overriding principle of minimum force. The arrangement had the appearance of a legal trap:

> A soldier is not allowed to excuse himself from taking life without dire necessity. The dilemma is painful because if he fails to come to the aid of the civil power he is liable to be held culpable and be punished by the courts. If he fails to use adequate force to quell the disorder, he may be court-martialled. If he uses too much force he may be tried for manslaughter.[18]

In the 20th Century political opinion began to insist that these standards be applied in the colonies. Prior to this period the army had suppressed colonial disorder by employing its superior firepower and mobility without restraint.[19] In the context of changing attitudes, however, the Amritsar incident of 1919 became a watershed in the development of internal security theory. Two lessons

---

[16] T. A. Critchley, The Conquest of Violence: Order and Liberty in Britain (London, 1970), pp. 60-2, 67-71, 118-9, 143, 147, 155-7, 167-71, 177-8; Adam Roberts, 'The British Armed Forces and Politics: A Historical Perspective', Armed Forces and Society, III (1977), 535-6; Brigadier C. N. Barclay, 'British Forces and Internal Security: Past Experience and the Future', Brassey's Annual, (1973), p. 84; Captain K. O. Fox, 'Public Order: The Law and the Military', Army Quarterly and Defence Journal (hereafter cited as AQDJ), CIV (1974), 297-8, 800.

[17] Robin Higham, Armed Forces in Peacetime: Britain 1918-1940, A Case Study (London, 1962), p. 42.

[18] Critchley, p. 75.

[19] The most comprehensive contemporary study of the suppression of colonial rebellions was Colonel C. E. Callwell, Small Wars: Their Principles and Practice (London, 1896-1906). The army adopted the book as an official manual.

emerged from the incident. First, the army realized that troops had to be properly trained in internal security procedures. After Amritsar regulations and drills emphasized: closer cooperation with the police; warning the crowd before opening fire; and employing fire by selected marksmen under the direction of an officer against specific targets. Shooting was justified only to protect life and property or in self-defence. Control was to be handed back to the police as soon as possible and medical attention given to the wounded; a diary and photographs were required to record the events.[20] These procedures were gradually extended for use in riot control throughout the empire where, as one writer noted, the British Army gained

> an enviable reputation for restraint and effectiveness . . . despite the lack of specialised training and the often makeshift nature of its equipment. Indeed, until comparatively recently it was not uncommon for a riot squad to be sent to disperse a hostile mob, armed solely with banners, batons and a copy of the latest internal security handbook.[21]

The second lesson was that incidents such as Amritsar could result in significant political consequences, which in turn could rebound to the detriment of the officer concerned. Most of the criticism of General Dyer came from Britain, from those who had not had to confront the situation. It may be fair to suggest, as Robin Higham does, that the outcome of the Amritsar incident enhanced the army's distrust of politics and its distaste of internal security because,

> when the situation gets so bad that statesmen or mayors call in the military force, they are frequently more

---

[20] Deane-Drummond, pp. 13-15.

[21] R. B. Pengelley, 'Internal Security: Some Recent British Developments', International Defence Review, VI (1973), 620; for an account of the procedures for employing lethal force in internal security in India see Field Marshal Sir William Slim, Unofficial History (London, 1959), pp. 73, 77, 79-80.

> interested in saving their own reputations by restoring order than in giving the professional soldier a clear mandate. Too often the soldier finds himself attempting to back up men whose lack of planning has resulted in the soldier on the spot having to make unpalatable decisions which, . . . he will later find the Cabinet repudiating. . . . Politically naive, afraid for his career, the military man usually finds himself at a disadvantage in upholding his position and reputation because he will rarely resort to counter-pressure through a lawyer, Parliament, or the Press.[22]

With the example of General Dyer before them it is hardly surprising that the army wanted it clearly understood that troops should be employed only as a last resort, when the forces of local governments were unable or unwilling to act effectively.[23]

At about the same time as the Amritsar incident the army became involved in an urban counter-insurgency campaign for the first time, in Ireland. Because it was a new experience many problems arose: cooperation with the police was never satisfactory; inadequate training led to reprisals by the army and police; the security forces were unable to build a dependable intelligence service; the legal ramifications of martial law were never resolved; and there was a noticeable lack of policy direction from the government. Most of the military operations involved fruitless raids and searches in urban areas, while mobile

---

[22] Higham, pp. 45, 67; Barclay, pp. 87-90; Lieutenant-Colonel H. De Watteville, 'The Employment of Troops Under the Emergency Regulations', Army Quarterly, XII (1926), 283-92. The latter described internal security as an 'invidious and hateful' task.

[23] 'Principles of Employment of Troops in Aid of the Civil Power', 1927, WO 32/3456; GHQ Middle East Forces, 'Directive no. 245--Internal Security', 13 Apr. 1946, WO 169/22879.

columns pursued the IRA in the countryside.[24] There were lessons to be gained from this experience about the nature of insurgency, but to expect soldiers to consider the political aspects of conflicts such as the Irish rebellion would have required a revolution in thinking in the British Army; in the atmosphere prevailing in the inter-war era such a revolution was unlikely. With traditional officers in command the small professional army remained insulated against political questions. The Staff College discouraged discussion of such matters, and officers like T. E. Lawrence who had been involved in political warfare were out of favour.[25] Thinking and practice in internal security had thus coalesced along purely military lines. Consequently, army scholarship in the inter-war period exhibited only a modicum of comprehension of the nature of insurgency.

In 1937 H. J. Simson, a retired officer, published the first considered analysis of urban insurgency and counter-insurgency. Drawing on the Irish experience, Simson observed that the insurgents used terrorism and propaganda to achieve two objectives: first, to support a carefully orchestrated political/psychological war against the government; and secondly, to isolate the police from the population, thereby ensuring a secure subversive organization, and to disperse the security forces on defensive duties, thus denying them the initiative. Simson recognized that existing army doctrine had not been framed to deal with this type of war. To remedy this he favoured the

---

[24] Charles Townshend, The British Campaign in Ireland, 1919-1921: The Development of Political and Military Policies (London, 1975), pp. 50-1, 53, 55, 85, 146-8, 153-7, 200-5.

[25] Correlli Barnett, Britain and her Army, 1509-1970: A Military, Political and Social Survey (London, 1970), pp. 410-2; Alfred Vagts, A History of Militarism, Civilian and Military (New York, 1959), p. 478.

application of martial law but if that was not possible he recommended the appointment of a single director of operations, assisted by a joint civil/police/military staff to direct both the emergency and the normal administration. Most important, he felt the security forces had to destroy the clandestine subversive organizations and they needed, therefore, improved intelligence services.[26] Simson did not have all the answers. He gave little consideration to the negative aspects of martial law, despite the limitations obvious from the Irish case. He said nothing about how to respond to propaganda. Nonetheless, the study was remarkable for its sophistication--it clearly defined insurgency as a form of political warfare, requiring both a political and a military response, and offered solutions to some of the problems posed by this form of conflict.

Yet, officers assigned to internal security duties in Palestine in 1945 were urged to read, not Simson, but Sir Charles Gwynn's Imperial Policing, published at about the same time.[27] While Gwynn recognized the importance of intelligence to both sides and the need for close cooperation between all elements of the security forces, his study revealed no understanding of the political nature of insurgency. For reasons he never makes clear he deliberately avoided drawing upon the Irish experience; instead, the case studies focussed on either rural insurrection or riot control operations in urban areas.[28] In this sense it

---

[26] H. J. Simson, British Rule, and Rebellion (London, 1937), pp. 16, 33-4, 36, 40-9, 54-5, 66, 68-77, 81, 83-98, 105-6, 121-4, 126.

[27] Sir Charles Gwynn, Imperial Policing (London, 1934-39); see also Middle East Training Pamphlet no. 9, Part 13.

[28] Gwynn, pp. 8-9, 11-12, 21-3. The case studies also included two international crises, Chanak and Shanghai.

presaged the basic perceptions of the doctrine prescribed for Palestine in 1945.

Recent experience, moreover, tended to lend credence to Gwynn's approach. In Palestine from 1936 to 1939 the army had to suppress urban terrorism and rural guerrilla warfare. Although confined to defensive tasks in the early stages of the revolt, once on the offensive the army dealt harshly with the rebels. It eliminated urban terrorism in Jaffa by demolishing the centre of the old town and driving a road through it. In the rural areas the army searched villages, imposed collective fines, and demolished buildings thought to house guerrillas. Roads were driven into the hills where mechanized troops encircled and defeated the guerrillas. Military control, an abbreviated form of martial law, was imposed on Jerusalem, and military courts detained, deported, or executed activists and rebels.[29] General Montgomery, then commanding a division in northern Palestine, typified the British approach: in Ronald Lewin's words, he 'clamped the countryside in a vice'.[30] Gwynn's approach to imperial policing--with its emphasis on firepower and mobility little changed from Callwell's day[31]--was thus vindicated. Military measures had succeeded: there was no reason to assume that the Irish experience would determine the pattern of future colonial rebellions, or indeed that it would be repeated at all. Thus, in 1939 the Staff College ran only three brief internal security exercises, focussing on the principles of imperial policing, mobile columns, and

---

[29] Marlowe, Rebellion in Palestine, pp. 157-62, 191, 194-6, 205, 224-6.

[30] Ronald Lewin, Montgomery as Military Commander (London, 1971), p. 22.

[31] Gwynn, pp. 20, 24, 28-32.

the lessons of Palestine; Gwynn's book became 'part of the stock in trade of any Staff College candidate or graduate'.[32]

Although Samuel Huntington suggests that conservatism in strategic thinking is characteristic of professional armies,[33] it would be tempting to accuse the British Army of being too conservative or traditional in its approach to the problem of counter-insurgency. But the explanation is surely more complex. First, since insurgency is a political problem it seems reasonable to propose that the British Government, not the army, should have taken the responsibility for developing a counter-insurgency strategy. The government did not do so, however, because it felt the army would be responsible for handling any major outbreak of disorder.[34] Furthermore, the Government had no policy upon which to build a strategy. The principal lacuna in doctrine, therefore, lay in the civil rather than the military sphere. The evidence shows, moreover, that the army was unlikely to step in and fill the vacuum because it was receding from the internal security role and, in any case, it regarded insurgency as a political matter not within its purview. Secondly, in 1945 the British Army had just emerged from a major conventional war; its operational thinking was oriented in that direction.

---

[32] K. M. White, Librarian, Staff College, Camberley, Surrey to author, 8 February 1979; see also Lieutenant-General Sir Roger Bower, interview with author, 27 May 1976.

[33] Samuel P. Huntington, The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations (New York, 1957), p. 71.

[34] Martin to Gater, 7 May 1946, CO 733/451. J. Bowyer Bell, On Revolt: Strategies of National Liberation (Cambridge, Mass., 1976), p. 177 suggests this was the typical British response once rebels had taken up arms.

The 6th Airborne Division was sent to Palestine not as an internal security force but to form the core of the Imperial Strategic Reserve, in anticipation of a future war with the Soviet Union. It was based in Palestine because the country offered facilities for airborne training. Throughout the 1945-47 period Headquarters Palestine expressed concern that internal security operations were interfering with the army's real task--to train for war.[35] Internal security was not necessarily first priority.

Third, conservatism in military thinking is often a virtue; it was and perhaps still is a military maxim that the best strategy is to force the enemy to fight on one's own terms, since this will allow one to exploit whatever advantages one has over the enemy. Conventional armies usually have greater firepower and mobility than insurgent armies, so it would be reasonable for conventional soldiers to define their strategy in such a way as to gain from these advantages, especially if they have been shown to be successful. As Brigadier Barclay notes, senior officers tend to take the view that 'If it worked well in the last war, why shouldn't it work well in the next one?'[36] Thus Alun Chalfont is being unhistorical when he criticizes Field Marshal Montgomery, CIGS from 1946, for clinging to obsolete tactical concepts and for failing to comprehend that they would be unacceptable to post-war political opinion.[37] It was not immediately apparent to the army--nor to many others--that Britain's relationship with its

---

[35] Montgomery, pp. 435-6; Wilson, Cordon and Search, pp. 3-4, 51-5; GOC Palestine, 'Directive G/2365/I/Trg--Training', 31 May 1946, WO 169/23022; Brigadier Maurice Tugwell, interview with author, 3 November 1976.

[36] Barclay, p. 81

[37] Alun Chalfont, Montgomery of Alamein (London, 1977), p. 344.

colonies had been altered in any substantial way by the war. Britain, after all, had emerged victorious so there was no reason for the army, unconcerned with political matters, to question the assumptions upon which imperial rule and imperial policing were based. It was a rare officer indeed who could draw the analogy between colonial rebellion and the wartime resistance and suggest that the British Army could learn from its former enemies.[38] So the old methods, proven by previous experience in Palestine, would suffice.

Finally, alternatives were by no means obvious. Army doctrine emphasized that 'Troops are not trained for police duties . . . and should not be so employed.'[39] Furthermore, troops were not to undertake on their own 'duties of a detective or secret service nature'.[40] The conditions under which the army provided aid to the civil power, discussed very clearly in the manuals and regulations, appeared to preclude the use of unconventional tactics which by their very nature were disruptive, of dubious legality and politically dangerous.[41] It is hardly surprising then that senior officers in Palestine expressed grave reservations about altering in any way the principles and procedures by which the army was used for internal security, for fear that the soldiers would not be adequately

---

[38] Major P. N. M. Moore, 'The Other Side of the Kampong', Army Quarterly, LII (1946), 248-52.

[39] HQ 1 Inf. Div., 'I.S. Scheme Palestine 1945', September 1945, WO 169/19656.

[40] War Office, 'Guerrilla Warfare', WO 169/19521.

[41] War Office, Directorate of Tactical Investigation, 'Report of a Working Party on Control of Special Units and Organisations', September 1946, WO 232/10B; M. R. D. Foot, 'Special Operations, Part I', in The Fourth Dimension of Warfare: Intelligence, Subversion, Resistance, ed. Michael Elliott-Bateman (Manchester, 1970), I, 19, 32.

protected by the law.[42]

The absence of a political context in the army's internal security doctrine had several important consequences for the counter-insurgency campaign. First, there was a tendency--initially at least--to define the insurgent threat in purely military terms. The army, Bernard Fergusson observed later, could deal with guerrillas, who are merely soldiers fighting by irregular but recognized principles and conventions of war--this, in effect, is what the War Office study on guerrilla warfare said--but it could not cope with the Jewish insurgents because they did not fight by the rules.[43] Thus in January 1945 the GHQ Middle East Forces Joint Intelligence Committee issued an assessment which anticipated two phases of Jewish resistance to British policy: first the Jews would use passive resistance to paralyze the government and impede the operations of the security forces, coupled with the use of violence to resist searches for arms and to support illegal immigration operations. In the second phase they would launch an open insurrection, consolidating themselves within specific areas and appealing for foreign assistance.[44] The influence of British internal security doctrine on this threat assessment is readily discernible: the army could suppress these actions with imperial policing methods. Techniques of aid to the civil power could be applied against the first phase, and large-scale repression, similar

---

[42] Major-General R. N. Gale to HQ Palestine, 23 Mar. 1946, WO 169/22956.

[43] Bernard Fergusson, The Trumpet in the Hall, 1930-1958 (London, 1970), p. 210.

[44] Joint Intelligence Committee, GHQ Middle East Forces, 'Probable Jewish Reactions and the Potential Threat of Jewish Forces in Palestine in Certain Eventualities', 11 Jan. 1945, CAB 119/147.

to that used in the pre-war Arab revolt, against the second. Subsequently intelligence analysts modified their views on the nature of the security problem, even to the extent of conceding that the insurgents had 'an enormous advantage over the forces of law',[45] but army operations continued to reflect the influence of the earlier view. Large-scale operations were the rule, not the exception.[46] This, after all, is what armies are organized and trained to do and it had succeeded in Palestine before.

In any case, this tendency was not necessarily inappropriate provided that there was sufficient intelligence to make the operations effective, and a propaganda program to make the effectiveness visible and credible. The civil authorities, however, fulfilled neither requirement in Palestine and the army was drawn into intelligence-gathering and the propaganda battle. The second principal weakness of the internal security doctrine was that it did not prescribe a role for the army in either field. Intelligence was regarded as a police responsibility and propaganda a political weapon, both by definition beyond the army's purview.[47] Consequently, the army did not have the personnel appropriately trained and experienced to correct the deficiencies in these crucial areas. Internal security doctrine, therefore, was a direct cause of ineffective security force operations.

---

[45] Bethell, p. 217.

[46] See Chapter VI and Appendix VII.

[47] Neither topic was covered in 'Notes for Officers on Internal Security Duties'. See also Chapters IV and VII.

CHAPTER IV

POLICE, INTELLIGENCE, AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

In his study of the breakdown of law enforcement in insurgent situations, Tom Bowden concludes that an important lesson from these cases is summarized in Karl Popper's observation that 'Institutions are like fortresses. They must be well designed and properly manned.'[1] The Palestine Administration of 1945 was neither: unable to govern by consent or consensus, beset by insurgent violence, the administration had to turn Palestine into a police state in order to retain control of the country. The tools of repression, however, were inadequate: in counter-insurgency, as Major-General Frank Kitson has observed since, 'the problem of defeating the enemy consists very largely of finding him'.[2] The security forces in Palestine were unable to collect, develop and exploit successfully intelligence sufficient to defeat the insurgents; nor were they able to prevent insurgent penetration of the intelligence services. Consequently, the security forces lost the intelligence battle which was, Menachem Begin later concluded, 'the decisive battle in the struggle for liberation'.[3]

---

[1] Quoted in Tom Bowden, The Breakdown of Public Security: The Case of Ireland 1916-1921 and Palestine 1936-1939 (London, 1977), p. 309.

[2] Frank Kitson, Low Intensity Operations: Subversion, Insurgency, Peacekeeping (London, 1971), p. 95.

[3] Menachem Begin, The Revolt: Story of the Irgun (London, 1951), p. 100.

Before dealing with the reasons for this defeat, it is essential to examine briefly the organization of the police and the military intelligence agencies. The Palestine Police Force consisted of some 20,000 regular and auxiliary personnel, but the organization and size of the force fluctuated constantly during the period under study. As in Britain the force was responsible to the courts for enforcement of the law but the GOC exercised operational control of the police. An Inspector General (IG), a Deputy and two Assistant Inspectors General carried out the senior administrative operations of the force. Palestine was divided into six police districts, each run by a Superintendent. The regular police carried out most of their work at the district level, operating from more than 100 police stations and posts across the country. The Criminal Investigation Department (CID) was responsible for police intelligence work and its Political Branch, under an Assistant Superintendent, had primary responsibility for anti-terrorist operations. Each district had its own CID detachment.[4] The Police Mobile Force (PMF), a para-military gendarmerie formed in 1944, consisted of nearly 2,000 men organized like a motorized infantry battalion in six companies, equipped with armoured cars, lorries, motorcycles, machine guns, and mortars. The PMF was created to provide a mobile striking force to support the district police in the control of civil disorder and thus to obviate total reliance upon the army for

---

[4] Government of Palestine, A Survey of Palestine: Memorandum Submitted to the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry by the Government of Palestine (London, 1946), I, 119-20, II, 582; GSI, Short Handbook of Palestine (Jerusalem, 1944), p. 72, Briance Papers; see also Appendix III.

this task.[5] The auxiliary police carried out certain tasks in order to free the regular police for more important duties. The largest auxiliary force were the Jewish Settlement Police, a government-financed uniformed force of 12,800 grouped in ten companies each under a British Police Inspector. Their task was to protect Jewish settlements and they were equipped with an assortment of small arms. The Railway Protection Police was another British-administered Jewish force which guarded stations, blockhouses, and vulnerable points on the Haifa-Lydda line. Temporary Additional Police enlisted for six months under the same conditions, regulations, and pay as the regular police and were assigned to general guard duties. In 1945 this force consisted of 1,650 Arabs and Jews.[6]

Much less is known about the military intelligence agencies in Palestine. Army formations, from battalion to division level, had their own intelligence officers and small intelligence staffs. A lieutenant-colonel commanded GSI, the intelligence branch at Army Headquarters in Jerusalem. The Defence Security Office was responsible for counter-intelligence: security of installations, equipment, information, and personnel through Palestine. A lieutenant-colonel directed a staff of eight intelligence officers at Headquarters Palestine and five Area Security

---

[5] 'War Establishment: Police Mobile Force, Middle East', 16 July 1944, CO 733/451; Sir Richard Catling, interview with author, 14 February 1979. By 1945 only six of eight intended companies had been formed.

[6] GS(Ops) British Forces Palestine and Trans-Jordan, 'The Development of the Palestine Police Under Military Control', June 1939, WO 201/831; Government of Palestine, Survey, II, 590-2; Bowden, pp. 158-60.

Officers in the main cities.[7] Field Security Sections, which corresponded approximately to Defence Security at formation level, were responsible for: controlling access to military formations and installations; security of materials and information; vetting and dismissal of civilian labour; civil-military relations and monitoring of rumours and anti-British propaganda; and gathering useful background information or intelligence for the local brigade or divisional headquarters. Field Security personnel were also supposed to serve as a liaison between army commanders and staffs in formations and GSI, Defence Security, civil and military police. A Field Security Officer, usually a captain, commanded a section which included at least 13 other ranks and was virtually self-contained; it could operate independently or attached to a larger formation. Field Security were often called upon for operational or special intelligence work and several sections were operating in Palestine at any one time.[8] The Special Investigation Branch of the Royal Military Police, though not specifically an intelligence organization, bears mentioning since within the context of investigating criminal offences within Army installations and units the branch conducted some intelligence work related to internal security.[9] The formal machinery

---

[7] Defence Security Office Palestine, war diary 1945-46, WO 169/19758, 23031; Jock Haswell, British Military Intelligence (London, 1973), p. 169; The Rt. Hon. Sir Martin Charteris to author, 9 November 1976; Mr. John Briance, interview with author, 3 March 1977.

[8] GHQ Middle East Forces, 'Directive no. 245--Internal Security', 23 June 1945, WO 169/19510; 3 Field Security Section Middle East Forces, war diary, 1945, WO 169/21414; Haswell, pp. 167-8.

[9] A. V. Lovell-Knight, The Story of the Royal Military Police (London, 1977), pp. 275-89.

intended to facilitate cooperation between these diverse organizations were the security committees. The military commander of a particular district chaired the local security committee which considered all matters relating to internal security in the area. The committee also included the District Commissioner--representing the civil government, the District Superintendent of Police (DSP), the Area Security Officer and a military intelligence officer. Recommendations on policy or financial matters were forwarded for approval to the central security committee, which included the Chief Secretary of the government, the IG of Police, the head of GSI, and the Defence Security Officer. These committees usually met on a weekly basis, more often if necessary, and the High Commissioner frequently chaired meetings of the central committee.[10]

As noted in the previous chapter, internal security doctrine dictated that the army's role was to assist the police, who would be primarily responsible for gathering intelligence. There were practical reasons for this separation of responsibilities, quite apart from the army's perceptions of the internal security task: the police were supposed to be more familiar with the terrain, the people, and the local sources of information; the CID was oriented to and experienced in anti-terrorist operations; and the police had the power to act against the insurgents under the law even before the army was called in. In theory this system should have worked well; in practice it did not. The ability to develop and exploit operational intelligence sufficient to defeat the insurgents depended almost entirely on the capabilities of the police and the

---

[10] HQ 21 Area, 'OI no. 21', 21 Nov. 1945, WO 169/19821; GSI, Short Handbook, p. 7; Briance, interview; Catling, interview, 28 May 1976; Mr. R. W. D. Pawle, interview with author, 18 May 1978.

establishment of a close and harmonious working relationship between the police and the army. In Palestine army-police relations were in many respects neither close nor harmonious, and a dearth of operational intelligence stood as mute testament to serious deficiencies in the police.

The crux of the problem lay in the near complete isolation of the police from the Jewish community. In 1947 General Dempsey observed:

> In England there are I suspect just as many murders as in Palestine. In England the murderer is caught because the people . . . are on the side of law and order and assist the police. In Palestine the people do not assist the police and the murderers are not caught. . . . The people not being on our side the police find it difficult if not impossible to get evidence.[11]

A sympathetic population, clandestine organization, and the anonymity afforded by the large urban centres combined to protect the insurgents from constant surveillance by the police. While this situation was largely the product of general Jewish hostility to the British administration, the structure of the police force itself was at least part of the problem. It was a militarized police force organized along traditional colonial lines. In his study of the colonial police Sir Charles Jeffries suggested that while the British concept of the unarmed individual policeman had a profound impact on the development of colonial police forces, the inherent differences of colonial situations meant that

> there was much attraction in . . . a "para-military" organisation or gendarmerie, armed and trained to act as an agent of the central government in a country where the population was predominantly rural, communications were poor, social conditions were largely

---

[11] Dempsey to Montgomery, 4 Mar. 1947, Diary of Major-General H. E. Pyman (hereafter cited as Pyman Diary), 6/1/3, Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives.

> primitive, and the recourse to violence by members of the public who were "agin' the government" was not infrequent.[12]

Simon Hutchinson offers further insight in his discussion of the police role in counter-insurgency. He suggests that the very nature of a colonial regime tended to make the police increasingly partial and more closely identified with the government. The primary role of such a force was not the prevention and detection of crime but to ensure that the government was not overthrown by violence or subversion. A colonial police force thus required two capabilities: an efficient political intelligence branch to prevent subversion, and a para-military arm to deal with small-scale guerrilla activity and riot control.[13] The Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) provided the most influential model for the colonial police and had a direct impact on the creation of the Palestine Police: in 1922 the British Government enlisted a battalion of gendarmerie consisting mainly of former members of the RIC and its auxiliary division, the 'Black and Tans'. Commanding this force in Palestine was Major-General Hugh Tudor, lately Chief of Police in Ireland. From that point the Palestine Police developed along the lines later identified by Sir Charles Jeffries--conversion into a British model civilian police force in 1925-26 while retaining certain para-military features for internal security.[14]

---

[12] Sir Charles Jeffries, The Colonial Police (London, 1952), pp. 21, 23, 31.

[13] Simon Hutchinson, 'The Police Role in Counter-insurgency Operations', Royal United Services Institute Journal for Defence Studies (hereafter cited as JRUSI), CXIV (1969), 56-7.

[14] HC[5479], 186, BPP (1937); Jeffries, pp. 3103; Bowden, pp. 153-7, 163-73.

Quite apart from the fact that the army exercised operational control over the force, militarization was most visibly manifest in the appointment of military officers to senior positions in the command structure. On 10 May 1946 Colonel William Nicol Gray, Royal Marines, succeeded John Rymer Jones as Inspector General. It was a controversial appointment. The Palestine Government had requested an experienced policeman but the Colonial Office, convinced that the army would be responsible for handling any major disturbances, felt that a non-policeman would be able to fill the position so long as he had an experienced policeman as his deputy. They pointed out that several recent Commissioners of the Metropolitan Police had not been policemen themselves, though the comparison was hardly relevant. Nonetheless, the Colonial Office criteria weighed heavily in favour of a military man and when the only acceptable police candidate withdrew Colonel Gray came highly recommended.[15] Some policemen resented Gray's appointment which they felt reflected the British Government's preoccupation with the military aspects of the terrorist problem. They felt Gray was too concerned with 'fire-power and mobility' to give appropriate attention to the largely administrative aspects of real police work.[16] In his own defence Colonel Gray has pointed out that his mandate was to build up the strength of the force, a task for which it was expected that his experience in training and leading young men would be most valuable.[17]

---

[15] Palestine Police, 'Annual Administrative Report (hereafter cited as AAR) 1946', CO 814/40; 'Police Vacancy--Inspector General', CO 733/451.

[16] Fergusson, p. 202; Briance, interview, 26 May 1976; Catling, interview, 28 May 1976; Mr. H. B. Shaw, interview with author, 2 Feb. 1977.

[17] Colonel W. N. Gray, interview with author, 23 July 1976.

There was at least one more significant military appointment to the police. In December 1946 Colonel Bernard Fergusson, a Black Watch officer and Chindit veteran, went to Palestine from the Combined Operations Headquarters to take command of the Police Mobile Force. By the time he arrived, however, the Palestine Government had decided to absorb the PMF into the district establishments and Colonel Fergusson merely presided over its disbandment. He was given a new position--Assistant Inspector General Operations and Training--and command of the new training depot where he directed his attention to the development of fresh techniques to combat terrorism. Colonel Fergusson (now Lord Ballantrae) insists that he tried to be as unmilitary as possible but, like Colonel Gray, he was the object of some resentment among regular policemen.[18] These appointments highlight the significant divergence of opinion between, on the one hand, the Palestine Government and the security forces--who were in general agreement on the importance of an effective police force--and on the other. the Government in London, which was inclined to minimize the role of the police.

The militarization of the police was also reflected in the composition of the other ranks. From its early associations with the RIC the Palestine Police had never shaken completely its para-military image. In the 1930's the British section of the force was composed of a mixture of ex-soldiers, adventurers, and a few professional colonial policemen. The government attempted to improve the professional quality of the personnel but the demands of the Arab revolt forced the police to recruit more of these 'soldiers

---

[18] Palestine Police, 'AAR 1946'; Palestine Post, 25 Dec. 1946; Fergusson, pp. 201, 202, 210; Brigadier The Lord Ballantrae to author, 20 July 1978.

of fortune', some of whom were retained against their will at the outbreak of the war. They did not make good policemen.[19] As early as 1943 the British Government recognized that the British section would require substantial reinforcement when the war ended; two-thirds of the British section were on contract only for the duration of the war. This anticipated shortfall, quite apart from any perceived need for a gendarmerie, led to the creation of the Police Mobile Force as a reservoir of British recruits ready to fill vacated positions at the end of the war. But the war cut off sources of manpower and hampered recruiting and the replacement of casualties. Consequently the Police Mobile Force never reached its full complement and in November 1945 the British section of the police force as a whole was substantially understrength.[20] Concerned about a downward trend in recruiting and doubtful in any case that ex-soldiers could become good policemen, the Chief Secretary was moved to comment:

> we are threatened with the prospects of very serious troubles in which the absence of one or two British constables in the right place at the right moment may make a great difference.[21]

Police work makes entirely different demands upon a man than soldiering, but despite expressed misgivings the police continued to recruit from the armed forces until

---

[19] 'Police: Enlistment of Dismissed Constables', CO 733/417; 'The Development of the Palestine Police Under Military Control', WO 201/831; Bowden, pp. 166-7, 171-3.

[20] WCP 510, 'Palestine Gendarmerie--Memorandum by Secretary of State for the Colonies', 16 Nov. 1943, CAB 66/43; WCP 559, 'Security in Palestine', 7 Oct. 1944, Papers of the British Prime Minister's Office 4/52/5; General Sir Bernard Paget, C in C Middle East Forces, 'Middle East Review 1946', WO 169/22881; Catling, interview, 14 Feb. 1979.

[21] Shaw to Eastwood, 26 Nov. 1945, CO 733/451.

August 1947, undoubtedly because there were few sources other than serving or demobilized servicemen. Moreover, apprehensive that a major recruiting campaign would draw too much attention to the deteriorating situation in Palestine, the British Government postponed a large-scale recruiting program until June 1946 by which time the British section of the force was 48 per cent understrength. Casualties, resignations and normal wastage (retirements, transfers, terminated contracts) outstripped recruiting in 1946 to the point that in order to maintain the strength of the urban forces at levels sufficient to carry out normal police duties, the Police Mobile Force was disbanded piecemeal, its manpower transferred to the district forces. Recruiting did not exceed wastage until January 1947 and thereafter declined constantly.[22]

The recruiting process and the transfers had an adverse effect on training standards. The recruits' course was reduced from three months to one and Colonel Fergusson concluded that most new policemen had received 'far less training than the average private soldier'.[23] Sir Charles Wickham, who visited Palestine in late 1946 to advise on modernization of the police, found that neither the recruits nor those transferred from the Police Mobile Force received proper instruction in police duties.[24] Trained to operate in well-armed organized bodies, the former members of the PMF were ill-prepared to patrol a beat as

---

[22] 'Police Force--Recruitment of Other Ranks', 'Palestine Police--Recruitment Propaganda', CO 733/451; 'Palestine Police--Recruitment of Other Ranks', CO 537/2268; Palestine Police, 'AAR 1946'; Jeffries, p. 167; see also Chapter VI.

[23] Fergusson, p. 202.

[24] 'Report by Sir Charles Wickham' (hereafter cited as 'Wickham Report'), 2 Dec. 1946, CO 537/2269.

individual policeman. Moreover, less than 4 per cent of the British police spoke Hebrew, a factor which further isolated them from the Jewish community, their most important source of information on the insurgents. Increased recruiting could not solve the problem because, as Colonel Gray pointed out, 'You can't suddenly recruit a lot of police efficiently into a multi-language society. . . . A British constable who doesn't speak Hebrew isn't going to get very far.'[25] In spite of the obvious limitations, however, even Sir Charles Wickham concluded that the police would have to continue to recruit large numbers of inexperienced men just to bring the force up to established strength. He recommended that this be accompanied by an intensive training scheme.[26]

The British police also suffered from low morale. In letters to Members of Parliament in late 1945, they complained about restrictions on the use of weapons and on the conduct of investigations, of intimidation by Jewish insurgents, and of inaccurate press reports. 'Small wonder then,' one policeman wrote, 'that members of the Palestine Police are resigning in their hundreds.'[27] Government policy caused confusion by first denying that the police would ever be forbidden to use their arms, then justifying the withdrawal of police in the face of threats. While conceding that restraint was bad for morale, the Chief Secretary emphasized that it was 'best calculated to serve the interests of H. M. Government in the circumstances

---

[25] Palestine Police, 'AAR 1946'; Gray, interview.

[26] 'Wickham Report'.

[27] 75015/151A, CO 733/456. In interview, 26 May 1976, John Briance commented that those recruited from the armed forces brought with them a 'return home malaise' and the attitude that Palestine was 'a bloody mess with no future'.

prevailing'.[28] But such concession to intimidation was unlikely to further the principal objective of the counter-insurgency campaign--'to keep the peace'--when the insurgents were attacking the police with the specific aim of depressing morale and blinding the CID.[29]

If these difficulties were not sufficient to undermine the effectiveness of the police, the CID suffered from structural weaknesses which gravely hampered criminal and political investigation. Although the Palestine Police had a higher proportion of CID personnel than any normal police force at that time, they were not organized to deal effectively with the insurgency. More than half of the 627 CID personnel were based at police headquarters and only 80 were assigned to the political branch. None of the remainder in the district CID were assigned specifically to political work. Owing to lack of incentive, the risks and difficulty of the work and the inability to produce spectacular results over long periods, they tended to ignore political investigation. Consequently, the ordinary CID was underemployed while the political branch was chronically overworked. By 1945 the activities of the political branch had expanded to such an extent that officers did not have sufficient time to follow up political intelligence reports, thereby leaving a significant lacuna in the intelligence process. Furthermore, police stations requiring plain-clothes officers to exploit important intelligence were forced to apply to district headquarters, a process which inevitably delayed operations. Financially, criminal investigation had a low priority. The government postponed and underspent purchase of scientific equipment for CID and

---

[28] Gort to Hall, 12 Oct. 1945, FO 371/45381; Shaw to Hall, 8 Nov. 1945, CO 733/456.

[29] See Chapter VI.

in 1946-47 the police spent only £50,000 on criminal investigation, out of a budget of more than £6 million. The laboratory and records section required more suitable accommodation.[30]

In view of the difficulties involving the British section of the police, one solution might have been to rely more upon the Palestinian members. The Palestinians, however, posed a whole new set of problems. Of the nearly 2,800 serving in the regular force, only 725 were Jews, all but 40 serving in the ranks. Until mid-1946 there had been no regular Jewish policemen 'on the beat', a lapse that Colonel Gray set about immediately to change.[31] Insurgent intimidation and infiltration rendered the few Jewish members of the CID unreliable from a security standpoint. Living unprotected in the Jewish community, they succumbed to pressure from the insurgents and, caught in a dilemma of conflicting loyalties, some Jewish policemen began to work for both sides. In such situations, William F. Whyte has observed:

> the smoothest course for the officer is to conform to the social organisation with which he is in direct contact and at the same time to try to give the impression . . . that he is enforcing the law. He must play an elaborate role of make believe.[32]

The police took no special precautions to deal with the problem and as a result, 'security was a nightmare. If you wanted to keep anything secret you did not tell anybody . . . nothing passed to a Jewish officer could be kept from

---

[30] 'Wickham Report'; Government of Palestine, 'Draft Estimates, 1945-46', CO 733/450; Government of Palestine, 'Annual Report of the Accounts and Finances, 1945-46, 1946-47', CO 814/40.

[31] Palestine Police, 'AAR 1946'; Gray, interview.

[32] Quoted in Brian Chapman, Police State (London, 1970), p. 97.

the Jewish Agency or the Haganah.'[33] Menachem Begin claims that the Irgun knew in advance about security force operations and the evidence confirms some extraordinary breaches of security: Top Secret documents were stolen from the police and the security of at least one major search operation was compromised.[34] This led to such anomalous situations as existed in Tel Aviv, where the entirely Jewish police force carried out all normal police functions but was excluded from anti-terrorist operations, which were handled by a British detachment.[35] Unable to trust the Jewish members of the force, the British section had to work on their own, attempting to gather intelligence in a hostile and deteriorating environment. By the end of 1946 it was becoming apparent even to outside observers that the police were unable to cope with the situation. British correspondent O'Dowd Gallagher exclaimed:

> We are losing the fight against the Jewish Terrorists. Our main weapon against them, the Palestine Police Force, is inadequate . . . not only in numbers, but in equipment, training, and to a slightly less degree, knowledge of the Terrorists' organizations, plans, members and generally what the Army calls "intelligence". . . . the name of the British Army would not be besmirched if the Palestine Police had been numerically strong enough to do their own job themselves.[36]

---

[33] Briance, interview, 3 Mar. 1977.

[34] HQ Palestine, war diary, October 1945, WO 169/19745; 1 Inf. Div., 'Weekly Intelligence Review (hereafter cited as WIR) no. 11', 24 June 1946, WO 169/22957; Cunningham to Creech-Jones, 7 Aug. 1947, FO 371/61784; Minutes of Security Conference, 15 Aug. 1947, Cunningham Papers, IV/1; Efraim Dekel, Shai: The Exploits of Haganah Intelligence (London and New York, 1959), pp. 127-35, 142-7, 331-9, 344-59; Bethell, pp. 248-9; Yisrael Medad, National Studies Institute, Jerusalem to author, 31 Oct. 1978; Begin, p. 99; see also Chapter VI.

[35] 1 Parachute Brigade, 'Intelligence Summary (hereafter cited as ISUM) no. 2', 25 Oct. 1946, WO 261/209.

[36] Daily Mail, 10 Dec. 1946; Statement by Lord

The weaknesses in the police force combined with army attitudes towards intelligence-gathering to place army-police relations on a poor footing from the start. The army had gained considerable experience of intelligence work during the war but it was never entirely comfortable with the task and, as shown in the previous chapter, was inclined to view the insurgents as a military force to be destroyed with military means.[37] The policeman, Simon Hutchinson suggests, sees the insurgents as highly organized, dangerous criminals and thus favours the methodical approach--evidence, written statements, photographs--which is likely to frustrate his army colleague although it is far more likely to produce results in court months later.[38] Thus while most former army officers and policemen felt that day-to-day relations were satisfactory, army criticism of both the police force and the quantity and quality of intelligence suggests that there was substantial friction between the two organizations. Major-General Anthony Farrar-Hockley, at that time a company commander, feels that

> the fundamental problem is that the army is not called in until the police are exhausted. Then you have the worst of all possible situations--the police are played out and feel that their efforts have not been

---

Altrincham, 23 April 1947, Hansard (Lords), 5th ser., CXLVII, 63-4. Palestine did not even have a compulsory system of population registration and identity cards: see 'Compulsory Registration 1944-45', CO 733/457.

[37] Haswell, pp. 12, 192-4; Donald McLachlan, 'Intelligence: The Common Denominator, Part II', in Elliott-Bateman, I, p. 71. There was substantial internal opposition to the creation of even a small permanent intelligence corps in the post-war army.

[38] Hutchinson, pp. 57-8. In his report Sir Charles Wickham described terrorism as 'crime in its most highly organised form', which the police would deal with by 'an intensification of their normal procedure and operation'.

> appreciated, and the military come in with a superior attitude that they are going to restore order. . . . the upshot is that you start off in a muddle, with poor intelligence, without proper understanding of the other person's situation--this was very obvious in Palestine.[39]

Consequently, the army tended to rely on its own intelligence services and sources, which were of variable quality. The Defence Security Office, staffed by officers with lengthy service in Palestine, frequently provided accurate reports. GSI, on the other hand, apparently had a poorer record of accuracy. Some senior commanders developed personal contacts with highly placed and influential members of the Jewish community.[40] Moreover, wary of lax police security, army commanders often kept the police uninformed when planning operations, either by evolving cover plans to mislead them or by informing and involving them only once the operations were underway. Some officers, however, like Brigadier E. H. Goulburn, felt that effective planning required cooperation of the police: 'not being able to inform the police is a great

---

[39] Major-General Anthony H. Farrar-Hockley, interview with author, 13 Sept. 1976; see Bibliography for list of army officers and policemen interviewed. Joint intelligence study courses were conducted in an attempt to share knowledge and experience: see 1 Inf. Div., 'Intelligence Course Programme', 17-30 Jan. 1946, WO 169/22956.

[40] By way of example the Defence Security Office accurately predicted a revival of terrorism on a major scale in June 1946, while army intelligence discounted the possibility on the very eve of the insurgent offensive: see Defence Security Office, 'Monthly Summary no. 8', May 1946, WO 169/23031; G Branch, HQ Palestine, 'Fortnightly Intelligence Newsletter (hereafter cited as FIN) no. 16', 10 June 1946, WO 169/23022. See also General Sir Richard Gale, Call to Arms (London, 1968), pp. 163, 166-9; Gale, interview with author, 6 July 1976; General E. L. Bols, interview with author, 28 July 1976; Miss Joanna Dannatt, interview with author, 17 Feb. 1978.

disadvantage'.[41]

It would be misleading, in any case, to suggest that there was no cooperation between the two forces; joint operations were conducted as a matter of routine.[42] There was, moreover, collaboration in the field of interrogation. The security forces had learned from wartime and police experience that, given time, seclusion and adequate preparation, interrogation of captured or surrendered enemy personnel yielded valuable intelligence. Unable, however, to find a location sufficiently secure, they never established an interrogation centre in Palestine. Instead, a very few captured insurgents were sent to the Combined Services Detailed Interrogation Centre at Fayid in the canal zone. The centre had been established in 1940 for the collection of detailed information from captured spies and prisoners-of-war, and in February 1946 Army headquarters in Palestine gave permission for GSI and the CID to use the centre jointly. GSI would select for interrogation those persons most likely to respond and the CID would provide Hebrew-speaking interrogators. Nothing is known of the centre's operations or its success, if any, in producing intelligence, although one former policeman feels that the threat of interrogation frightened the insurgents and thus

---

[41] 3 Inf. Div., 'Directive no. 2 Combined Ops Police and Mil', 23 Jan. 1946, WO 169/22967; HQ Palestine, 'OI no. 67', 17 June 1946, WO 169/23022; Goulburn to HQ 1 Inf. Div./North Palestine District, 21 June 1946, WO 169/22989; 1 Inf. Div./North Palestine District, 'OI no. 7', 28 June 1946, WO 169/22957; Tugwell, interview; Major-General H. E. N. Bredin, interview with author, 28 June 1976; Lieutenant-General Sir Napier Crookenden, interview with author, 9 June 1976.

[42] See Chapter VI. Cooperation was frequently disrupted as army formations exchanged areas of responsibility: see Gale, p. 171; Gregory Blaxland, The Regiments Depart: A History of the British Army, 1945-1970 (London, 1971), p. 42.

detention itself was often sufficient inducement to produce information.[43] On the whole, however, the evidence suggests that either on their own or in combination with those of the police, the army's intelligence resources were insufficient to compensate for the critical weaknesses in the police intelligence capability.

These deficiencies in the intelligence services exerted a significant influence on the counter-insurgency campaign. The para-military political image of the police force isolated it from the Jewish community, who associated the methods of political intelligence-gathering--surveillance, informers, interrogation--with the police states from which many Palestinian Jews had only just escaped. Allegations of brutality, sadism and torture were reinforced by occasional lapses of police discipline resulting in reprisals against the Jewish public; insurgent propaganda frequently charged that the police included fascists and anti-semites in their ranks.[44] The isolation of the police blinded the intelligence services, allowing the

---

[43] 'Establishment of Interrogation Centre for Examination of Terrorists', CO 537/1838; GSI, GHQ Middle East Forces, war diary, February, May 1946, WO 169/22882; 1 Guards Bde., 'Report on Op AGATHA, 29 June-1 July, 1946', WO 169/22989; 'Annexure A to C in C's Conference--"Size, Role, Location of GHQ"', 7 Aug. 1947; F. H. Hinsley, British Intelligence in the Second World War: Its Influence on Strategy and Operations (London, 1979), pp. 205, 282-3; Catling, interview, 14 Feb. 1979.

[44] 'Wickham Report'; 'Text of Official Communiqué', copy to Creech Jones, 19 Nov. 1946, FO 371/52565; DSP R. S. Hainsworth, 'Report on Police Investigations into Serious Crimes and Disorders in Tel Aviv and its Environs on 31st July 1947', 8 Sept. 1947, copy to Creech Jones, 15 Nov. 1947, CO 537/477; Chapman, pp. 78-9; J. Borisov, Palestine Underground: The Story of the Jewish Resistance (New York, 1947), pp. 65, 81-2; Daphne Trevor, Under the White Paper: Some Aspects of British Administration in Palestine from 1939-1947 (Jerusalem, 1948), pp. 37-52; see also Chapter VII.

insurgents to prepare operations in relative security and thus to retain both the tactical and strategic initiative. Furthermore, the paucity of operational intelligence meant that security force operations only rarely produced significant results either in terms of arrests or in the reduction of the level of insurgent activity.[45] Finally, the absence of public cooperation and the consequent lack of intelligence hindered prosecution of persons accused of terrorist offences; this, in turn, encouraged the government to detain without trial persons suspected of complicity in terrorism but against whom there was insufficient evidence for prosecution. Not surprisingly, this practice attracted a great deal of criticism both in Palestine and in Britain. Moreover, some military commanders, who were responsible for issuing detention orders, were not always eager to do so. General Sir Roger Bower, at that time a brigade commander, felt later that

> it was a disgraceful business. It went badly wrong because the civil government pushed responsibility for running it onto the services. I could sign committal forms taking away people's liberties for two years without seeing them or even knowing the charges. I complained to the GOC, Barker, who told me that if I wouldn't do it he would find someone who will, "so get on with it".[46]

Detention without trial did not stop terrorism and, as noted earlier, it gave the insurgents a degree of leverage over the government.[47] In short, weakness in the intelligence field meant that the security forces were unable to enforce law and order in Palestine.

---

[45] See Chapters II and VI and Appendix VII.

[46] HQ 21 Area, 'OI no. 21', 21 Nov. 1945, WO 169/19821; Bower, interview; see also Chapter VII.

[47] See Chapters II and VI.

The law enforcement problem was compounded by the Palestine court system. Although Palestine had a British-style civilian judiciary with supreme, district, and magistrate's courts, cases relating to internal security were heard before military courts, staffed by military officers rather than civilian judges. They could award the death penalty for illegal use of firearms or for sabotage of communications or power facilities. There was no appeal of military court judgements and other courts could not challenge or otherwise call into question the orders or proceedings of military courts. The GOC alone could confirm or commute death sentences.[48]

Initially, the military courts heard only cases involving the possession, carrying or use of firearms and explosives, but by 1945 their jurisdiction had expanded to include all offences relating to insurgency. Richard Graves felt that the government displayed 'an excessive readiness to use the military rather than the civilian courts',[49] and expressed the view that however capable and fair-minded were the military courts, the civilian courts would be far more efficient, given the administrative resources at their disposal. His assessment is unduly optimistic; in 1945 the Chief Justice conceded that litigation had outrun the ability of the courts to deal with it.[50] Nevertheless, by their very nature military courts violated the long-standing principle of British law that justice must not only be done,

---

[48] Government of Palestine, Survey, I, pp. 111-2; GSI, Short Handbook, p. 7; HQ Palestine, 'OI no. 21', February 1945, WO 169/19743.

[49] HQ Palestine, 'OI no. 21', 27 Oct. 1945, WO 169/19745; Sir Michael Hogan, interview with author, 10 May 1976; Sir Ivor Rigby, interview with author, 27 Apr. 1978; Richard M. Graves, Experiment in Anarchy (London, 1949), p. 70.

[50] FitzGerald to Gort, 6 Feb. 1945, CO 733/455.

but must be seen to be done. They gave the Jewish insurgents and their sympathizers, who in any case refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of any British courts in Palestine, additional propaganda ammunition.[51] Military courts were, as Sir Robert Thompson has observed since, 'a tacit admission that responsible government has broken down'.[52]

The death penalty posed further problems because executions tended to create martyrs to the insurgent cause and left the administration open to retaliation. The dilemma posed by maintaining the death penalty for carrying arms and then being forced to execute a young boy for doing so raised obvious questions of proportionality--did the sentence fit the crime? As a result of these considerations the administration demonstrated a marked reluctance to adopt procedures which would hasten the awarding, confirmation, and carrying out of death sentences. Only 12 convicted Jewish insurgents were executed for terrorist offences; many more had their sentences commuted to life imprisonment. In some cases, however, the government was forced to commute the sentences under duress, when members of the security forces or other British persons were seized as hostages.[53] This helped to undermine further the effectiveness and the credibility of the judicial system and of law enforcement in general.

---

[51] Trevor, pp. 84-122; see also Chapter VII.

[52] Sir Robert Thompson, Defeating Communist Insurgency: Experiences from Malaya and Vietnam (London, 1966), p. 54.

[53] Colonial Secretary to High Commissioner, 25 Mar. 1938, WO 32/9618; 'Martial Law Policy 1947', CO 537/2299; Statement by Viscount Hall, 23 Apr. 1947, Hansard (Lords), 5th ser., CXLVII, 55; Hogan, interview; Tugwell, interview. According to Hall, death sentences of 22 convicted terrorists had been commuted to life imprisonment; see also Chapter VI.

This reluctance to carry out the ultimate sanction, particularly under threat of retaliation, points to a fundamental weakness underlying the British counter-insurgency campaign. Sir Winston Churchill alluded to it in 1947 when he remarked that there was 'no country in the world . . . less fit for a conflict with terrorists than Great Britain . . . not because of her weakness or cowardice; it is because of her restraint and virtues'.[54] Under British rule Palestine was, as J. C. Hurewitz observed, 'a police state with a conscience'.[55] The insurgents recognized this and, as will be shown in the following chapter, designed their strategies and tactics to exploit this all-important factor.

---

[54] Sir Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill, Winston S. Churchill: His Complete Speeches, 1897-1963, ed. Robert Rhodes James (London and New York, 1974), VII, 7422.

[55] Hurewitz, p. 281.

CHAPTER V

JEWISH INSURGENT ORGANIZATION AND STRATEGY

Between October 1945 and September 1947 Jewish insurgents conducted an armed struggle for national liberation in Palestine. Insistent upon their historic title to the land and spurred by Jewish suffering in the European holocaust, the insurgents carried out a sustained campaign of urban terrorism and propaganda against the Palestine administration. Three separate insurgent organizations were involved in the campaign: the Haganah (Defence); the Irgun Zvai Leumi (National Military Organization) and the Lochmei Heruth Israel (Fighters for the Freedom of Israel) or Lechi. The organization and strategy of each group will be discussed in turn.

Organization

The Haganah was the largest of the three, with 36,871 members at the end of 1944.[1] Although the Haganah traced its historical roots to the self-defence units formed before 1914 to protect Jewish settlements, it was formally established in 1921, at the instigation of the Histadruth (the General Jewish Federation of Labour). Some units engaged in active operations against Arab rebels in 1938. During the Second World War the Palmach (Striking Companies) were created to assist the British in the event of a German invasion of Palestine. Once the threat receded the Palmach was retained on active service by the Haganah, being based

---

[1] Bauer, Diplomacy to Resistance, p. 306. The British Joint Intelligence Committee estimated its total strength at 65,000: COSC minutes, 8 Aug. 1945, CAB 79/37.

on the Kibbutzim (collective agricultural settlements) where it could continue military training in conjunction with farming. Other members of the Haganah were trained by the British for service with special forces in Europe and North Africa; some later served in the Jewish Brigade which fought in Europe in 1944-45.[2]

Although created initially by the Histadruth, the Haganah had evolved by the end of the war into the military arm of the Jewish Agency, which had been created under the Palestine Mandate to advise and cooperate with the Palestine administration in matters related to establishment of the Jewish national home.[3] During the Second World War a new command structure was established for the Haganah, in which the Histadruth shared command and control with the Political Department of the Agency. The Haganah's security committee was responsible for general policies and finances, but delegated some of its political and all of its administrative authority to the National Command. Moshe Sneh of the Agency was commander-in-chief, with seven command members as his assistants. The general staff, responsible for technical and educational affairs, reported directly to Sneh. By 1945 it appears that strategic command of the Haganah rested solely with the Agency's political department,

---

[2] Bauer, Diplomacy to Resistance, pp. 84-8; Edward Luttwak and Dan Horowitz, The Israeli Army (London, 1975), pp. 3-5, 7-14, 17-8, 20-1, 25, 27; Yigal Allon, The Making of Israel's Army (London, 1971), pp. 4-8, 10-1, 15-6, 19, 117-8, and Shield of David: The Story of Israel's Armed Forces (London, 1970), pp. 20-1, 29, 44-58, 63-8, 84, 98-100, 106; Amos Perlmutter, Military and Politics in Israel: Nation-Building and Role Expansion (London, 1960), pp. 3-7, 11-5, 29, 32, 35-9, 41-2, 49; Yehuda Bauer, 'Rommel's Threat of Invasion, Zionist Policy, and the Jewish Underground in Palestine, 1942', Studies in History, VII (1961), 222-48.

[3] 'The Jewish Agency--Extract from Report of the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry', WO 169/23022; HC [5479], 172-4, BPP (1937); Hurewitz, pp. 18, 40-1.

which issued orders directly to the commander-in-chief.[4]

The Haganah was organized as a territorial militia. Most served in the Him (Guard Force), a poorly trained force intended solely for protection of rural settlements. The smallest formation was a post of three to six men. Four to eight posts constituted a sector or platoon; two or more sectors a region or company; and from two to nine regions, a district or battalion. The Him had basic intelligence, communications, and medical services, as well as arrangements for mutual support of adjoining settlements. The Hish (Field Force) included 4,600 men in mobile formations controlled by district commanders. The Palmach, the élite force of the Haganah, totalled some 1,500 men, also deployed on a territorial basis: individual platoons were based on a kibbutz; adjoining platoons formed companies, and adjoining companies, battalions. The conventional military structure notwithstanding, the Palmach was a guerrilla army, and this was reflected in its training in sabotage, covert operations, and rigorous physical and weapons training. Promising members were put through the NCO's course which covered small unit leadership, urban combat, resistance techniques, international politics, and the opposition in Palestine (the security forces and the other underground groups). After a minimum of six months service as a section or deputy platoon commander an NCO attended the officer's training course. This training system, combined with a reserve organization, was designed to allow the Palmach to expand rapidly in an emergency.

---

[4] HC[6873], 'Palestine: Statement of Information Relating to Acts of Violence', BPP (1946); Bauer, 'Rommel's Threat of Invasion', pp. 224-6. The Histadruth dominated politically the Jewish Agency Executive. Funds for the Haganah raised in Palestine and abroad were held in the Keren Hayesod (Palestine Foundation Fund): 'Notes on the Structure of Jewry in Palestine', 1 Feb. 1946, WO 169/22956; see also Appendix V.

By the end of the war it had four battalions.[5] The Palmach and the Hish played the most active role during the Haganah's period of opposition to the government.

The Irgun Zvai Leumi had an estimated strength in 1945 of approximately 1,500.[6] It shared the same historical origins as the Haganah, but was created in 1931 when a group of Haganah members left the parent organization in a dispute over the issue of socialist politicization in the Haganah. They seized an arms cache and founded Haganah B, which became subsequently associated with the right wing Zionist-Revisionist Party. It remained a politically unstable organization throughout the decade: in 1937 as many as half of its members returned to the original Haganah and in 1940 the leadership split over the issue of cooperation with the British during the war. A minority opposed to cooperation left to form a new group, which became the Lechi. The Irgun languished until Menachem Begin became commander in late 1943.[7] He immediately

---

[5] 1 Guards Bde., 'ISUM no. 15--Structure and Organization of the Haganah', June 1946, WO 169/22989; Allon, Making of Israel's Army, pp. 19-21, 124-30; Bauer, Diplomacy to Resistance, pp. 306, 415-6; Luttwak and Horowitz, pp. 20-1, Perlmutter, pp. 37-8, 49. Perlmutter states that the Hish had 700 trained officers by 1946, while Bauer notes that by the end of 1944 only 4,372 of the Him had received a fair amount of training. He states further that the Haganah did not have sufficient weapons for all members, though the army's searches of 1946 appeared to indicate that the Haganah was becoming better armed, with sufficient weapons for the Him. See Chapter VI.

[6] J. Bowyer Bell, Terror Out of Zion: Irgun, Lehi, and the Palestine Underground, 1929-1949 (New York, 1977), p. 145.

[7] Samuel Katz, Days of Fire (London, 1968), pp. 14-5, 50; Eitan Haber, Menahem Begin: The Legend and the Man (New York, 1978), p. 89; Gerold Frank, The Deed (New York, 1963), pp. 47-9, 57-9, 78-82, 90-1, 103; Bethell, p. 41; Perlmutter, p. 27; Daniel Levine, 'David Raziel: The Man and His Times', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Yeshiva University, New York, 1969, passim.

reorganized the Irgun into a secret revolutionary army. He severed the group's connexions with the Revisionists to ensure both security and the Irgun's ability to determine its own political program. Begin was the head of the High Command, which controlled both the political and military policies and activities of the Irgun. A general staff was responsible for administrative functions: planning; intelligence; ideology and propaganda; regional commands; secretariat; quartermaster; finance; and medical services. The operational forces came jointly under the planning section and the regional commanders, and consisted of squads, platoons, companies, and divisions. According to Begin, the organization never had more than 30 or 40 full-time members, relying heavily on part-time volunteers, who eventually numbered in the thousands. The Irgun financial section Keren Habarzel (Fund for Iron) collected funds from sympathizers, as well as authorizing 'expropriations' (robberies). By 1946 the Irgun had also created some ten front organizations in the United States to generate financial assistance from the wealthy American Jewish community. In 1946 the Irgun also established a head-quarters in Europe to carry out recruiting, fund-raising and operations. Although small in size in comparison with the Haganah, the Irgun played a major role in the insurgent campaign; some historians would ascribe to it the decisive role.[8]

---

[8] Begin, pp. 61, 74-81; Katz, Days of Fire, pp. 66-8; Haber, pp. 88, 95-6, 104, 198; Samuel Halperin, The Political World of American Zionism (Detroit, 1961), pp. 318-20; Walter Laqueur, Terrorism (London, 1977), pp. 87, 90; 'Proclamation on the Palestine Resistance', PM, 2 Dec. 1946, FO 371/52571; Dan Nimrod, interview with author, 14 June 1978. Laqueur estimates the Irgun's budget at one to two million dollars. Nimrod confirms that the Irgun's debt, which is still being paid off, runs into the millions. J. Bowyer Bell feels the Irgun played the decisive role. See also Appendix V.

The Lechi was the smallest organization, numbering some 250 to 300 in 1944.[9] The group had carried out operations almost from the moment of its break with the Irgun in 1940. By 1942 most of the members, including their leader Abraham Stern, had been arrested or killed by the police and those who remained alive, both in and out of prison, began to reorganize the group. They adopted the structure of a secret terrorist society: members were grouped in cells of three with vertical lines of communication and command from a three-man central committee. Recruitment was very selective to ensure loyalty and security: prospective members sponsored by two established members were subjected to lengthy covert surveillance and interrogation in secrecy. Once accepted they returned to the large cities where they lived under assumed identities. To protect itself from informers, the Lechi established an intelligence service which penetrated the Palestine Police and built up a file on police anti-terrorist agents. It also extended into the British Army and the administration. The 'Fighting Division' included personnel, training, planning, and logistics branches. There was also a propaganda department and a separate radio station. The Lechi financed itself by means of door-to-door fund-raising campaigns, protection racket extortion, and bank robberies. Initially the Lechi established cells in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and Haifa, but branches were eventually extended to Cairo, Britain, and Europe, with front organizations in the United States. At the end of October 1943 21 members of the Lechi escaped from Latrun detention camp, putting the group on a solid footing. Although never officially appointed, Nathan Friedman-Yellin was recognized as the head of the central triumvirate, responsible for propaganda and external

---

[9] Hurewitz, p. 198.

contacts and negotiations. Yitzak Yizernitsky took over administration, organization, and operations. Dr. Israel Sheib was the ideologist, giving lectures to the members and running the underground newspaper.[10] The Lechi was very active in the insurgent campaign. It demonstrated a capability for inflicting casualties and damage far out of proportion to its size.

Strategy

Each of the insurgent groups operated according to an individual strategy, determined by the political outlook or the structure of the group. Of necessity this made coordination difficult when the three organizations tried to work together. They did not share common political goals, so the means of achieving political objectives were radically different.

The political attitudes and objectives of the World Zionist Organization (WZO), as expressed through the Jewish Agency, determined to a large extent the strategy of the Haganah. So long as British policy and the Palestine administration supported the efforts to create the Jewish national home, the Agency cooperated with the British and Palestine governments. The changes in British Palestine policy from 1930 to 1939, however, gradually pushed the Agency into opposition, and the White Paper was the breaking point; the Jews felt betrayed. David Ben-Gurion, leader of the Socialist-Zionists, vowed that while the Jews would cooperate in the war against Hitler, they would 'fight the

---

[10] Ibid.; Y. S. Brenner, 'The Stern Gang, 1940-48', Middle East Studies, II (1965), 4-8, 12-3; Frank, pp. 20-2, 105-6, 121-5, 129-34, 147-52; Edward Hyams, Terrorists and Terrorism (London, 1975), pp. 152-8; Paul Wilkinson, Political Terrorism (London, 1974), p. 90; Esco Foundation for Palestine, Palestine: A Study of Jewish, Arab, and British Policies (New Haven, 1947), II, 1042-3; see also Appendix V.

White Paper as if there were no war'.[11] Yehuda Bauer has observed that in reality it was difficult to put that vow into effect and political energies were directed mainly towards the creation of Jewish military units to serve in the war.[12] The political struggle against the White Paper continued mainly in the United States, producing in 1942 a political program which would become the Agency's principal political weapon once the war was over. The 'Biltmore Program' called for: abrogation of the White Paper; the creation of an independent Jewish Army fighting under its own flag and command; vesting the Jewish Agency with control of immigration and development of Palestine; and the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish commonwealth, in short, an independent state.[13]

With the exception of the demand for a Jewish Army, the Agency presented this program to the British Government in May 1945 coupled with a demand for an international loan and other assistance to transfer the first million Jewish refugees to Palestine. Churchill replied that the Palestine question would have to be dealt with at the peace conference, but shortly thereafter the Labour Party came to power. When it became apparent that despite its pro-Zionist pronouncements the new government was not going to implement the Biltmore program the Agency decided to authorize the Haganah to use a limited degree of force to pressure the British Government into meeting Zionist

---

[11] Golda Meir, My Life (New York, 1975), p. 161. See also Chapter I.

[12] Bauer, Diplomacy to Resistance, p. 72.

[13] Halperin, p. 222. After the Jewish Brigade was created in 1944 the demand for a Jewish Army was dropped.

demands, particularly those regarding immigration.[14]

During 1945-46 the Haganah operated according to a strategy it called 'Constructive Warfare'. It was designed to persuade the British Government to change its Palestine policy, especially immigration policy; it was not intended to be a strategy for a war of independence. It was, moreover, a compromise. It was supposed to satisfy both the militant elements in the Haganah who wanted to take action against the British and the moderates who were opposed in principle to the use of terrorism. The strategy involved three related tactical techniques, with distinct but mutually supporting political objectives. First, the Jewish Agency and the Haganah would carry out illegal immigration operations, to save the remnants of European Jewry and to increase the Jewish population of Palestine. These operations would serve also as a propaganda weapon in the political battle to terminate the White Paper policy. Secondly, illegal settlements would be established in prohibited areas, to ensure footholds in strategically vital areas and, again, to expose the injustices of the White Paper. Finally, the Haganah would conduct military operations called Maavak Tzamud (Linked Struggle): they would be carried out either to protect directly the landing and dispersal of illegal immigrants, or would be directed at any branch or aspect of the administration involved in the prevention of illegal immigration. This allowed a wide variety of military targets: roads and bridges; patrol boats and naval vessels; police stations, radar stations and airfields. Such attacks would undermine the security of the British position in Palestine, precluding

---

[14] HC[6873], 4, BPP (1946); Kirk, p. 190; Hurewitz, p. 225; see also Chapter II.

its effective use as a military base.[15]

The strategy had obvious weaknesses, largely the product of the Agency's reluctance to use force. Inclined to be cautious, the Agency leaders, according to one critic, tended to test British reactions after each incident to see if they had been pressured sufficiently; consequently, there were long periods of inaction between many operations. The Haganah took pains to reduce casualties, often to the extent of giving warnings of impending attack in order to allow British personnel to evacuate intended targets.[16] The British, of course, just as often refused to evacuate, or chose to defend the target, so casualties on both sides were inevitable. Some critics found artificial the distinction between the Haganah's 'constructive' operations and the 'destructive' acts of the Irgun and the Lechi, observing that 'One cannot draw the line between various kinds of violence'.[17] Such distinctions were even harder to draw once the Haganah decided to cooperate with the Irgun and the Lechi. The British Government, in any case, would be unable or unwilling to see in the Haganah's actions anything less than a terrorist campaign to overthrow the government of Palestine. As Elizabeth Monroe has observed: 'Armed resistance instinctively produces in an imperial power an unwillingness

---

[15] 'Submission by Head of Command, Jewish Resistance Movement', 25 Mar. 1946, CO 733/463; Allon, Making of Israel's Army, pp. 23-7; Bell, Terror Out of Zion, pp. 142-4; Katz, Days of Fire, pp. 87-8; Luttwak and Horowitz, pp. 22-3; Moshe Brilliant, 'Underground in Palestine: How the Jewish Resistance Movement Works', Harper's Magazine, XCCIV (1947), 249; Shlomo Katz, 'Understanding the Jewish Resistance in Palestine: The Aims and Methods of Hagana', Commentary, II (1946), 47-8.

[16] Katz, Days of Fire, p. 88; Katz, 'The Jewish Resistance', p. 48; Bethell, p. 214.

[17] Mary Sirkin quoted in Borisov, p. 69.

to capitulate to violence.'[18] From the very first Haganah action the British Government demonstrated just such tenacity. But for nearly a year the strategy of Constructive Warfare allowed the Jewish Agency to apply military pressure to the British Government without having to acknowledge responsibility for the action.

The principle political objective of the Irgun was the establishment of an independent Jewish state, incorporating both Palestine and Trans-Jordan. The Irgun's ideology rested on three assumptions: first, that every Jew had a natural right to enter Palestine freely; secondly, that the creation of a Jewish state presupposed the existence of an armed Jewish force; and third, that every Jewish group and every foreign power supporting the Jewish right to independence would be considered an ally. A majority Jewish population, created by large-scale immigration, was also an essential precondition to independence.[19]

The Irgun's military strategy was to initiate a 'Liberation War . . . a just war, which is conducted by an oppressed people against a foreign power that has enslaved it and its country'.[20] This liberation war was to prepare the Irgun for the 'opportune moment' to seize power: when the British had been defeated either in the insurgent campaign or in a war with another power.[21] Eitan Haber

---

[18] Monroe, p. 67; J. Bowyer Bell, 'Revolts Against the Crown: The British Response to Imperial Insurgency', Parameters, IV (1974), 34-42.

[19] Irgun Zvai Leumi, 'The Aims of the Irgun', Jerusalem, 1946, Palestine Statehood Committee Papers, Box 12, f. 42, Yale University Library (hereafter cited as 'Aims of the Irgun', Palestine Papers); Borisov, p. 11.

[20] 'Aims of the Irgun', Palestine Papers.

[21] Ibid.

states that Begin followed the Clausewitzian maxim that war is diplomacy by other means, and the Irgun's strategy bears this out: the continuous liberation war would be accompanied by political action, propaganda, economic warfare, and would be 'internationalized' in order to win the support of foreign governments.[22] The Irgun regarded this strategy as one of total war, requiring the mobilization of the whole Jewish people, using political as much as military weapons:

> Total War does not mean only bearing arms. We will not honour the rules of His Majesty's Government. We will not obey its laws. We will not pay taxes. We will not recognize the authority of British officials. We will ignore the dictates of their courts. We will set aside the injunction prohibiting us from settling on the land. . . . We will create a provisional Jewish Government which will direct this war, integrate all our activities, and embody our aspirations.[23]

Begin states that his liberation strategy was based on the assumption that the British Government, owing to political tradition and Britain's situation in 1945, would be unwilling and unable to rule Palestine by excessive force in the face of determined opposition. Drawing on the current example of the rebellion in Greece, an Irgun pamphlet concluded: 'The English commander is not free to suppress the rebellion in a sea of blood.'[24] Convinced that the British attached great importance to political and moral factors in governing their colonies, the Irgun concluded that it could defeat the British by humiliating them:

> the very existence of an underground, which oppression, hanging, torture, and deportation fail to crush or weaken must, in the end, undermine the prestige of a

---

[22] Ibid., Haber, p. 111.

[23] Herut (November, 1945) quoted in Borisov, p. 73.

[24] 'IZL on Lessons of Greek Rebellion', Defence Security Office, 'Fortnightly Intelligence Summary (hereafter cited as FIS) no. 96', Jan. 1945, WO 169/19758; Begin, p. 52.

> colonial regime that lives by the legend of its omnipotence. Every attack which it fails to prevent is a blow to its standing. Even if the attack does not succeed it makes a dent in that prestige, and that dent widens into a crack which is extended with every succeeding attack.[25]

Begin believed that once the revolt began Palestine would come to resemble a 'glass house'; the world's attention would be focussed on Palestine and the events within. This close and constant scrutiny would allow the Irgun to disseminate its political message through its actions while protecting the Irgun from an extreme British response. Thus the military and political roles of the Irgun were inseparable; the Irgun would act as its own political spokesman. J. Bowyer Bell has accurately described this as a strategy of leverage.[26]

The Irgun's strategy shared some common aspects with that of the Haganah: both employed military and political action to put pressure on the British Government; in both cases raising the political and military costs of law enforcement in Palestine was central to the application of leverage. The Irgun commanders felt that 'each operation should be planned with an eye to major effects and to this end we should make Britain itself our central objective'.[27] The strategies diverged on the matter of the means to achieve independence. The Haganah's strategy envisaged a negotiated solution, in which Constructive Warfare was simply a pressure tactic and not the sole means of achieving the desired objective. The Irgun rejected a negotiated settlement; its aim was to achieve independence by inflicting a political/ military defeat on Britain, forcing her to withdraw from the

---

[25] Begin, p. 52.

[26] Bell, On Revolt, p. 41; Begin, pp. 52, 80, 93; 'Aims of the Irgun', Palestine Papers; see Chapter VII.

[27] Katz, Days of Fire, p. 106.

Mandate, and seizing power upon that withdrawal. Inevitably then, the Irgun's strategy required a higher level of violence and intensity of conflict.

This crucial difference in the two strategies was reflected directly in the participation of the two groups in acts of violence. During the period of cooperation, 1945-46, the Haganah and the Palmach were directly involved in conducting eight military operations. The Irgun and the Lechi together carried out more than 30 during the same period. Once the cooperation ended, the latter groups executed some 280 operations between September 1946 and July 1947.[28]

In his study of the Lechi Gerold Frank has stated that the group had no political line or ideological consistency save for a single political objective--an independent Jewish state.[29] The evidence suggests that this is an over-simplification. Granted that the Lechi's political program was abstruse, it does not defy explanation; rather it must be examined in relation to the influence of the Lechi's founder Abraham Stern, both before and after his death. Even before he died Stern had come to view the Lechi's struggle for national independence as part of a larger war against British imperialism in the Middle East.[30]

Stern emigrated to Palestine from Poland in the early 1920s. A brilliant scholar at the Hebrew University at Jerusalem, he later studied in Italy where, according to one analyst, he became captivated by Mussolini's fascism and returned to Palestine with an ambition to recreate not just

---

[28] See Appendix VI.

[29] Frank, p. 133.

[30] Geula Cohen, Woman of Violence: Memoirs of a Young Terrorist, 1943-1948 (London, 1966), pp. 232-3.

the state of Israel in Palestine, but to build a vast fascist Hebrew empire from the Euphrates to the Nile. Stern was not a Zionist in the strictest sense of the word: he believed that the Jewish state had never ceased to exist; it would be recreated by massive Jewish immigration from the diaspora and a war of national liberation by the combined forces of Zionists outside Palestine and a 'Hebrew Liberation Front' fighting inside Palestine. Although Stern's colleagues in the Irgun agreed that a Jewish state would have to be created by force, they were not as fanatical as Stern and it was this that led to the split in 1940: Stern believed that with Britain at war the Irgun should push for independence.[31] J. Bowyer Bell writes:

> When the split came in the summer of 1940, few were surprised. It had been obvious for years that Stern would not wait on events, could not compose his soul, and sought a means to act. He attracted about him impatient, driven, desperate men who also distrusted politics and believed in deeds.[32]

From a political point of view this impulse to action was self-defeating. According to Geula Cohen, a former member of the group, 'Lechi never had a chance to formulate its beliefs into a systematic program'.[33] The Lechi launched into operations immediately, and Cohen feels that when Stern was killed in 1942 much of the group's political direction died with him: 'of all the principles he set down on paper only the purely tactical ones--those committing us to an all-out struggle against British imperialism in the Middle East . . . remained part of our program. The visionary

---

[31] Ibid.; Frank, pp. 102-3; Hyams, pp. 145-6; Henry Mitchell, 'A Tale of Terror, Peace, and Our Times', International Herald Tribune, 9 Aug. 1976. Mitchell's article is based on an interview with Natan Yalin-Mor (Friedman-Yellin), former leader of the Lechi.

[32] Bell, Terror Out of Zion, p. 62.

[33] Cohen, Woman of Violence, p. 232.

aspect of Yair's thought faded into the background.'[34] When Friedman-Yellin took over in 1943 independence remained the primary objective, but the struggle was increasingly couched in anti-imperialist terms. Lechi doctrine stated that the British remained in Palestine to protect their economic interests, particularly those related to oil. The Lechi, therefore, would render the military bases useless by constant threat of attack and undermine the economic interests by sabotage of the oil refineries and the pipeline. There is no question that this frankly Marxist-Leninist interpretation was intended to appeal to the Soviet Union; according to Cohen, Stern himself had believed that the Lechi should ally itself with the Soviets in removing British influence from the area.[35] By 1947 the Lechi's 'foreign policy' favoured neutralization of the Middle East, thereby removing both the British imperialist threat to the Soviet Union and the cause of communal strife. The Lechi emphasized that Britain was the common enemy of both Jews and Arabs, and that all who struggled to expel the British were natural allies. Peaceful cooperation and economic development would follow expulsion of the British.[36] Eitan Haber has suggested, nonetheless, that the Lechi's leaders were not as doctrinaire as this policy might suggest, and Brenner goes further by highlighting differing views within the organization: the left hoped to achieve a radical

---

[34] Ibid., p. 233; Brenner, pp. 4-5. Yair was Stern's cover name in the underground.

[35] Brenner, pp. 11-2; Cohen, Woman of Violence, p. 233; Haber, p. 94.

[36] Fighters for the Freedom of Israel, 'An Outline of Foreign Policy', Jerusalem, 1947, no. 987a, Jabotinsky Institute, Tel Aviv, Israel; Friedman-Yellin, interview with Gerold Frank, Liberty, 12 Oct. 1946, FO 371/52563; Friedman-Yellin, interview with Clifton Daniel, New York Times, 25 Aug. 1947, FO 371/61758; Brenner, p. 18.

socialist state, while the right tended to regard the anti-imperialist line as an expedient tactic for acquiring external support.[37]

While ideology thus determined the selection of major targets, the Lechi's methods were the product of Stern's own attitudes and example. Even before he left the Irgun he had urged the adoption of tactics of 'indiscriminate terrorism'. He felt that if the Irgun was at war it should attempt to inflict maximum damage for minimum losses. Once the Lechi was acting on its own Stern advocated 'individual terrorism', a technique borrowed from the writings and experience of the European anarchist movements, whereby the assassination of key individuals was supposed to bring down the whole government structure.[38] Stern's death apparently reinforced this concept: Brenner says that the Lechi became obsessed with revenge for his death, which they vented against policemen, and convinced they would meet the same fate if captured they carried arms at all times, so as to avoid capture by killing as many policemen as possible, dying in the attempt.[39] Freidman-Yellin defended these tactics in an interview published in 1946, pointing out that since the British used every means to

---

[37] Brenner, p. 18; Haber, p. 150. Ironically, during the period under study the Haganah, not the Lechi, benefitted most from Soviet assistance. The Soviet Union facilitated Jewish emigration from eastern Europe and from May 1947 supported the concept of partition of Palestine. See Arnold Krammer, The Forgotten Friendship: Israel and the Soviet Bloc, 1947-1953 (Chicago, 1974), passim; see also Chapter VII.

[38] Bethell, pp. 125-6; Frank, p. 150; Laqueur, p. 81; Ze'ev Iviansky, 'Individual Terror: Concept and Typology', Journal of Contemporary History, XII (1977), 43-63.

[39] Brenner, pp. 5-6. According to Cohen, p. 221, the order to carry arms at all times was rescinded in late 1944 because it was no longer needed.

combat the Lechi, they had to use every means to fight back.[40] The Lechi believed that such actions would serve also to dramatize their cause, the battle of the weak against the strong:

> Such acts will render the government weak and ineffectual. Such acts will have powerful echoes everywhere. Such acts will prove to the authorities that they cannot enforce law and order in Palestine unless they keep vast forces here at the cost of thousands of pounds.[41]

The Lechi shared with the Irgun only the objective of creating an independent Jewish state by force of arms. Furthermore, the Lechi's strategy did not lend itself to cooperation with the Haganah. Deliberate personal violence was antithetical to the doctrines of the Jewish Agency leaders. It may be for that very reason that Brenner feels the Lechi gained respectability from the period of unified struggle since, however the Agency leaders felt, the Haganah used methods which appeared indistinguishable from those of the Lechi. Moreover, on its own, this very small organization could not hope to achieve its objectives; in cooperation with the Haganah and especially with the Irgun, the Lechi's strategy contributed to the deterioration of the security situation in Palestine, to what one author called 'the dialectic of repression, resistance, terror and reprisal'.[42]

Given the differing political and military perspectives of the three groups then, a united front was not a likely prospect. In fact from September 1944 to May 1945 the Haganah made a concerted effort to reduce the effectiveness of, if not to eliminate, the other two organizations. From February through November 1944 the Irgun and the Lechi

---

[40] Friedman-Yellin, 12 Oct. 1946, FO 371/52563.

[41] Frank, pp. 130-1.

[42] Borisov, p. 142; Brenner, p. 20.

had conducted a joint terrorist campaign which culminated in the assassination of Lord Moyne. The campaign alarmed the Jewish Agency. Coming at a time when the British Government was considering a settlement of the Palestine question favourable to the Jews, the offensive was ill-timed. Chaim Weizmann, President of the WZO and a moderate who believed in close cooperation with the British, felt that the terrorist campaign caused a major setback for the Zionist movement:

> The harm done to our cause by the assassination of Lord Moyne and by the whole terror . . . was not in changing the intentions of the British Government, but rather in providing our enemies with a convenient excuse and in helping to justify their course before the bar of public opinion.[43]

It was noted in Chapter I that after the murder of Lord Moyne the partition plan was shelved and British support for the Jewish state idea waned. Furthermore, the Jewish Agency felt the Irgun and, to a lesser extent, the Lechi constituted threats to the Agency's leadership of the Jewish political community. The Irgun encouraged activist members of the Haganah to defect and join the Irgun. The result of this anxiety was a power struggle, known as 'The Season', in which the Jewish Agency and the Haganah cooperated actively with the British security forces in identifying, locating, arresting and interrogating members of the Irgun. The Lechi succumbed very quickly to pressure and agreed to suspend operations on the understanding that in the absence of a favourable settlement the Haganah and the Lechi would launch a joint campaign. The Irgun suffered significant losses in the Season and conceded defeat in April 1945, when it called for an end to 'fratricidal

---

[43] 'Situation: Bomb Outrages, 1944', CO 733/456; Hurewitz, p. 199; Marlowe, Seat of Pilate, p. 184; Chaim Weizmann, Trial and Error: The Autobiography of Chaim Weizmann (New York, 1972), pp. 437-8.

strife' and the creation of a united front against the government.[44]

The real impetus for a united resistance campaign came from the Jewish Agency and the Haganah. Seeing the Agency's proposals rebuffed by the British Government in the spring of 1945 and a British policy decision postponed by the new government in the summer, Haganah militants disillusioned with the negotiating process urged the Agency to allow active opposition to the government. Once again, members of the Palmach began to defect to the Irgun. A formal truce was arranged between the underground groups and the Jewish Agency proposed amalgamation for a campaign to extract concessions from the British. The Irgun agreed readily to the concept of a united front but rejected amalgamation with Haganah; Begin feared the Irgun would be unable to renew the revolt if the Agency or Haganah decided to cease operations. The three groups reached a general agreement by mid-October, although it was not formally ratified until 1 November, after the first joint operation. Under the agreement the Haganah took command of the Tenuat Hameri Ha'ivri (United Resistance Movement), but each group retained its independent existence. The Irgun and the Lechi could propose operations, which would be approved in general terms by a three-man high command representing each of the groups. Joint conferences were to be held every fortnight, and operations officers would meet before every operation. The Irgun and the Lechi were permitted to carry out 'expropriations' without prior approval. Samuel Katz observed later: 'The limitations were blatant, but the

---

[44] Bauer, Diplomacy to Resistance, pp. 315-33, Begin, pp. 138-51; Bell, Terror Out of Zion, pp. 127-36; Bethell, pp. 188-91.

great object had been achieved. The whole people was at war.'[45]

---

[45] HC[6873], 4-5, BPP (1946); Elazar Pedazur, The History of the Irgun Zvai Leumi (Jerusalem, 1961), III, 30; Begin, pp. 181-8; Brenner, p. 16; Bell, Terror Out of Zion, pp. 142-5; Katz, Days of Fire, p. 87.

CHAPTER VI

INSURGENT AND SECURITY FORCE OPERATIONS

Between October 1945 and September 1947 the insurgents carried out more than 360 operations in Palestine and abroad. These operations consisted mainly of three types, each with distinct political objectives: 'armed propaganda' attacks, to exert political pressure on Britain; attacks on the security forces, to increase the direct costs of the war; and operations against economic targets, to raise the indirect costs and reduce the economic benefits of the Mandate. The British security forces responded with searches, raids, martial law and special operations. The British objectives were to defeat terrorism and to restore law and order. Major operations by both sides will be discussed in this chapter.[1]

Insurgent Operations

The first 'armed propaganda' operation of the United Resistance Movement took place on the night of 31 October/1 November 1945. The Palmach damaged two police launches with limpet mines at Haifa and sunk a third at Jaffa. The Haganah attempted to sabotage the railway system at hundreds of locations across Palestine. The Irgun attacked Lydda railway junction, damaging locomotives and buildings and causing 13 casualties among members of the security forces and railway staff. A Lechi bombing caused serious damage to

---

[1] See Appendices VI and VII for complete lists of insurgent and security force operations.

the oil refineries at Haifa.[2]

The political objective of this 'single serious incident' was to warn the British Government that further violence could be expected if it did not deal satisfactorily and quickly with Jewish demands. It was also intended to raise the morale of Palestinian Jews. According to Bethell, the operation had the desired effect on the Jews of Palestine, although Agency leaders were concerned that the British might respond with an all-out attempt to disarm or disband the Haganah.[3] The British were certainly warned by the operation but it did not dissuade the government from its intended course. Upon receiving reports of the incidents Bevin met with Weizmann and Moshe Shertock (from the Agency's headquarters in London) and warned them that he regarded the violence as a declaration of war. If that was what the Agency intended, he advised them, then the British Government would cease its efforts to find a solution; it would not negotiate under the threat of violence. George Hall, the Colonial Secretary, issued a public statement along similar lines, if more moderate in tone: unless the violence ceased, he warned the underground, 'progress in relation to Palestine will be impossible, and the further steps we had in mind in our endeavour to settle this difficult problem will be brought to nought'.[4] So the operation succeeded in angering the government but did not affect its policy decisions: arrangements went forward to establish the Anglo-American Commission. The military response in Palestine was low key: a road curfew and some small-scale

---

[2] Defence Security Office, 'Monthly Summary no. 1', October 1945, WO 169/19758; Shaw to Hall, 1 Nov. 1945, CO 733/456; HC[6873], 3, BPP (1946).

[3] HC[6873], 4, BPP (1946); Bethell, p. 216.

[4] Bethell, p. 215; Sykes, p. 357; Hansard, 5th ser., CDXV, 786.

searches. Owing to the government's desire for a peaceful settlement, the Chiefs of Staff advised against instituting a major search for arms or attempting to disarm the Haganah. For similar reasons no action was taken against the Jewish Agency.[5]

The most significant effect of the operation was its impact on the resistance movement itself. The first operation had taken place without Agency approval because the Executive had refused to allow the Political Department to act. They did not cancel the action, however, and insisted only that in future the Executive should be advised of forthcoming operations in order to be able to exercise a veto. The Agency's caution produced confusion. Begin states that the Irgun's operation at Lydda had been approved on the understanding that the guards were to be overcome without using weapons. The Haganah, however, apparently failed to coordinate their plans with those of the Irgun; the railway sabotage was carried out before the Irgun arrived at Lydda, so the guards were alerted and the Irgun encountered resistance. Thirteen members of the security forces and the railway staff were killed or wounded in the attack. The Lechi operation, on the other hand, was not approved by the United Resistance Movement because it went beyond the strategic objectives of the front. The Lechi refused to cancel the operation, however, because it had been planned long before the establishment of the resistance movement; agents and explosives had been planted at the refinery, so the operation had to be carried out before they were discovered. In the event the Lechi team bungled the operation, inflicting as much damage on themselves as on the refinery. The resistance command blamed the Agency

---

[5] See the 'Security Force Operations' section of this chapter; see also Chapter VIII.

Executive for the mistakes of the first coordinated operation, claiming that if they had approved the resistance agreement the casualties at Lydda, and the refinery attack itself, could have been prevented.[6] Nearly a month passed before the Haganah carried out another operation. Although the machinery of coordination remained in place--the high command continued to exercise approval of Irgun and Lechi operations--the Haganah never again attempted a coordinated strike with the other two groups. So the resistance movement was united in name only.

Between 10 and 18 June 1946 the insurgents launched a major offensive. On the 10th the Irgun mined three trains. The Palmach sabotaged eight road and rail bridges along the Palestine border on the night of 16/17 June. The following day the Lechi destroyed a locomotive and several buildings in a raid on the Haifa railway workshops. On the 18th the Irgun kidnapped six army officers in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem.[7] Army headquarters attributed the attacks in June 1946 to a series of events: the escape of the Mufti of Jerusalem (the Palestinian Arab leader) from France to the Middle East; Bevin's Bournemouth speech; the death sentences pronounced against two Irgun members; and the alleged discovery of British plans to liquidate the Haganah. Kol Israel's broadcast of 18 June referred to Bevin's speech and Begin later confirmed that the kidnappings were carried out on his orders to prevent the execution of his men. His explanation is credible; it coincides with the Irgun doctrine. The Lechi attack on the railway workshops was in keeping with their strategy of striking at British economic targets. The explanation of the Haganah's operations, however, requires

---

[6] HC[6873], 4-5, BPP (1946); Cohen, Woman of Violence, pp. 102-3; Brenner, p. 16.

[7] HQ Palestine, 'FIN no. 17', 23 June 1946, WO 169/23022.

closer scrutiny. The destruction of railway bridges could not be related directly to British efforts to prevent illegal immigration. Rather, as Moshe Brilliant suggested in a 1947 article, the operations were intended as a warning to Britain not to transfer to Palestine troops or installations from Egypt or elsewhere in the Middle East.[8] There is considerable evidence to support this interpretation. First, rendering Palestine untenable as a military base was central to the Haganah's strategy. Secondly, on 12 May Kol Israel issued a warning that the resistance movement would make every effort 'to hinder the transfer of British Bases to Palestine and to prevent their establishment in the country'.[9] Third, the operation showed every indication of detailed planning: sabotage on such a scale was a major operation and the damage inflicted suggests that the bridges were properly reconnoitred in advance to determine where charges should be placed and how well each bridge was protected. The attacks involved many men--30 in the attack on the Allenby bridge alone. Diversionary attacks were carried out in some areas and roads were blocked by mines. Intelligence analysts suspected that the assault teams might have travelled some distance to reach their targets and would have required local guides, medical support, food and refuge. They concluded that the operation against the bridges bore the hallmarks of 'major planning on a country-wide scale'.[10] Finally, in a rare display of prescience,

---

[8] Ibid.; HC[6873], 9, BPP (1946); Katz, 'Jewish Resistance', p. 49; Brilliant, pp. 249-50; Hurewitz, p. 254; Bethell, pp. 244-5. Bethell cites an article by Glubb Pasha, commander of the Arab Legion, as a further aggravating factor. Kol Israel (Voice of Israel) was the Haganah's underground radio station.

[9] HC[6873], 8, BPP (1946). The British intention to move the Middle East base to Palestine was announced on 7 May 1946: Blaxland, p. 217.

[10] Shaw to Martin, 25 June 1946, CO 733/456; 1 Guards

military intelligence had predicted before the end of May that terrorism was likely to resume in June, on a larger scale than before. All the information at their disposal pointed to a resumption of terrorism, and they correctly identified the bridges as likely targets.[11] It is clear, therefore, that the Haganah had planned the attack on the bridges long before the Mufti's escape, Bevin's speech, or the discovery of the British plans, all of which appear to be unnecessary justification after the fact. Nonetheless, GHQ Middle East Forces was probably correct in concluding that the revival of terrorism could be attributed also to

> a steady increase in anti-British feeling and a growing belief among the terrorists that their recent inactivity, far from aiding the Zionist cause, was bringing disaster upon it. . . . the terrorists feel, and probably rightly so, that the temper of the Yishuv is more propitious to such terrorist activity now . . . due to the increasing fear that the Anglo-American Commission's report will not be implemented.[12]

The June offensive produced significant consequences: on 29/30 June the security forces raided the headquarters of the Jewish Agency and arrested several hundred members of the Agency and the Haganah. The resistance movement responded with the sabotage bombing of the King David Hotel, the headquarters of the Administration, on 22 July. Ninety-two people were killed and 69 people injured in the explosion and large sections of the Administration were damaged or destroyed. The British replied with another large search,

---

Bde., 'ISUM no. 16', 3 July 1946, WO 169/22989; Bethell, p. 246.

[11] HQ Palestine, 'FIN no. 15', 26 May 1946, WO 169/23022; Defence Security Office, 'Monthly Summary no. 8', May 1946, WO 169/23031; HQ Palestine to 1 Inf. Div., and 1 Inf. Div. to 3 Inf. Bde., 15 June 1946, WO 169/22957.

[12] GHQ Middle East Forces, 'WMIR no. 65', 21 June 1946, WO 169/22882.

encompassing the entire city of Tel Aviv.[13] Considerable controversy has surrounded the bombing of the King David Hotel. The Irgun accepted responsibility for the operation, yet it is clear now that the Haganah approved the bombing in general, if not specific, terms as an action of the resistance movement. Begin says the Irgun had first proposed the attack in the spring of 1946 but it was not approved by the resistance high command until 1 July, after the British search operation. He says the attack was both a reprisal for the British action and an attempt to destroy documents captured by the British during their search of the Jewish Agency headquarters.[14] Israel Galili, at that time the Haganah operations officer, refutes Begin's interpretation. He claims that the Haganah had planned long before the British search to destroy the King David as a political gesture. He concedes that Operation AGATHA triggered the action, but rejects as 'nonsensical' the idea that the bombing was intended to destroy documents that might embarrass the Jewish Agency.[15] Both explanations are plausible. Galili is probably correct that the documents were not the prime concern, since the British had already spent three weeks examining them. But whether the attack was a direct reprisal for Operation AGATHA or a deliberate act of 'propaganda of the deed', the King David Hotel was a legitimate target under the terms of the United Resistance Movement.

The bombing, however, produced severe repercussions in the Zionist movement. The moderates had been reasserting

---

[13] J.P.I. Fforde, 'CID Report on King David Outrage', 16 Aug. 1946, CO 537/2290; The British search operations are discussed later in this chapter.

[14] Irgun Zvai Leumi, 'The Truth About the King David', 22 July 1947, CO 537/2290; Begin, pp. 212-5.

[15] Bethell, p. 258.

their influence since the British operation against the Agency. Shortly thereafter Weizmann met with Zionist leaders and threatened to resign, making public his reasons for doing so, if they did not suspend all armed actions by the Haganah and the Palmach. The Haganah succeeded in getting the Irgun to postpone the King David operation several times, but it was not cancelled. In the wake of the disaster the resistance movement collapsed in confusion and recrimination. After the Irgun publicly claimed responsibility for the attack, leaders of the Agency and other bodies called the operation 'a dastardly crime perpetrated by a gang of desperadoes' and urged the Jewish community to 'rise up against these abominable outrages'.[16] Begin claims that despite the incident joint resistance planning continued, but from August 1946 the Haganah confined its activities solely to illegal immigration and, as Samuel Katz observes, 'took no further part in the armed struggle against the British'.[17] The British had not crippled completely the Haganah's military capability, but the Haganah's military retreat was accompanied by a political one on the part of the Jewish Agency. At meetings in Paris in August they rejected the British provincial autonomy plan, but countered with a proposal for the creation of a Jewish state in a partitioned Palestine. This significant departure from the Biltmore program was nothing short of a concession to British force.[18]

Apart from this, however, the British could hardly be satisfied with the events of June and July 1946. The economic and administrative costs of the terrorist actions were severe and despite the universal condemnation of the

---

[16] CO 537/2290; The Times, 23 July 1946; The Palestine Post, 24 July 1946; Bell, Terror Out of Zion, p. 173; Bethell, pp. 253-4; Meir, pp. 196, 198.

[17] Begin, p. 226; Katz, Days of Fire, p. 92.

[18] Hurewitz, p. 260.

Irgun for the King David incident the Administration suffered the greater political damage. The High Commissioner commuted the Irgun death sentences in the face of threats to the officer hostages, thereby contributing directly to the undermining of the rule of law. The massive search operations at the end of June did not stop terrorism; the King David incident only made the show of force appear ineffective.[19] Any political credit the British Government might have gained from the King David incident and from the White Paper on terrorism published several days later was undermined by the exposure of an official letter by General Barker, the GOC, the tones of which were undeniably anti-semitic. Insurgent propagandists quickly exploited the letter, forcing the British Government to renounce it publicly.[20] Finally, far from allowing the British Government to apply pressure to the Jewish Agency to meet its terms for a negotiated settlement, the detention of Jewish leaders gave the leverage instead to the Agency, which held the settlement hostage for the release of those leaders. Moreover, the existence of the detainees and the White Paper on terrorism undoubtedly made it difficult for the British Government to abandon its own plan for provincial autonomy and to adopt partition. Although many in British Government favoured partition as the only solution, as did the American administration, they could scarcely adopt the plan of those they had just condemned.

The Irgun was damaged politically by the sequence of events as well. Quite apart from having to accept the blame for the King David bombing, the Irgun was isolated

---

[19] The Manchester Guardian, 23 July 1946; Wilson, Cordon and Search, p. 56; see also Appendix VIII.

[20] The Palestine Post, 1 Aug. 1946; Hurewitz, pp. 256-7; Bethell, p. 269; see also Chapter VII.

politically once again by the collapse of the United Resistance Movement. J. Bowyer Bell states that Begin recognized that Ben-Gurion stood to gain the most from the Irgun's activities:

> he could now hold firm as the British produced one unsatisfactory solution after another, confident that the Irgun would continue to engender chaos within the Mandate. The political benefits of the Irgun's military campaign would then fall into the lap of the Jewish Agency, fast becoming a state-in-waiting.[21]

In other words, the Irgun had unwittingly become the military arm of the Jewish Agency. With the Haganah out of the war, the Agency could continue the deal with the British with a clear conscience. Yet if the Irgun's strategy of leverage succeeded the Agency, not the Irgun, would inherit the political victory.

If Begin did appreciate the Irgun's dilemma, that might go some way to explain the next major act of 'armed propaganda'. On 31 October 1946 the Irgun sabotaged the British Embassy in Rome, causing extensive damage. The Irgun claimed that the embassy was bombed because it was directly involved in preventing Jewish immigration into Palestine. Furthermore, the Irgun warned that the attack on the embassy was the beginning of an international campaign against the British. Certainly the bombing marked the commencement of a major propaganda offensive obviously intended to gain support for the Irgun around the world and to bring the threat of terrorism closer to the British domestic audience, heretofore isolated from the direct effects of the war in Palestine.[22] However, the immediate consequences were disastrous for the Irgun. Following the attack British and American security forces assisted the Italian police in

---

[21] Bell, Terror Out of Zion, p. 174.

[22] Rome to Foreign Office, 31 Oct., 4 Nov. 1946, FO 371/60786; Dan Nimrod, letter to author, 12 Dec.1978; see also Chapter VII.

the search for the terrorists while the two governments exerted diplomatic pressure on the Italian Government to exercise greater control over the refugee camps thought to be the centre of resistance activity. By the end of December 1946 the Italian police had arrested 21 members of the Irgun, including the chief of international operations, Ely Tavin. The actual perpetrators of the crime, however, had escaped. The Irgun was forced to regroup and in March 1947 moved its international headquarters to Paris. The Irgun conducted only one other international operation of a similar scale, an unsuccessful attempt in April 1947 to blow up the Colonial Office in London.[23]

Instead, the insurgents concentrated on direct attacks on the security forces. Between October 1945 and September 1947 they inflicted more than 500 casualties in some 200 attacks, exclusive of those killed or injured in the King David incident. Most of the incidents and the casualties occurred between September 1946 and July 1947 and road mining was the most common and lethal form of attack. It almost invariably ensured casualties among the occupants of the vehicle, since precautions and counter-measures were never completely successful. The insurgents who planted the mines usually escaped undetected.[24] The increased attacks were the result of a conscious shift in strategy by the Lechi leadership, who concluded that it would be more cost-effective to attack members of the security forces, since policy-makers like Lord Moyne could be replaced from other parts of the empire. Yalin-Mor claims that the road mining broke the morale of the British Army in Palestine:

---

[23] FO 371/52564, 60786, 67796; Dan Nimrod, interview with author, 14 June 1978; Bethell, p. 308.

[24] 'Avner', Memoirs of an Assassin (London, 1959), p. 87; Wilson, Cordon and Search, pp. 112-5; see also Appendix VI.

> They were afraid to leave their barracks so they had to stay there night after night, month after month. It was very bad for morale. And the casualties spread unrest among British families in England. They started demanding the evacuation of British troops. It had a political effect. That was the purpose.[25]

The Irgun and the Lechi supplemented this general war of attrition with selective attacks on the intelligence and security apparatus. Military and police intelligence officers were assassinated and police stations attacked and bombed. Quite apart from raising the human and financial costs of law enforcement, these attacks helped to neutralize the intelligence services. By December 1946 insurgent attacks had driven the police from the streets, forcing them to patrol in armoured cars, further alienating them from the public and their sources of information and cooperation. The attacks also produced reprisals which served to undermine the legitimacy of the administration by lending credibility to insurgent propaganda claims that Palestine was a police state.[26] The 'Car Park Murders' are a case in point.

On 25 April 1946 between 25 and 30 members of the Lechi attacked the 6th Airborne Division car park in Tel Aviv. They killed seven soldiers and stole 12 rifles before escaping.[27] Geula Cohen says the objective of the raid was solely to steal the rifles and equipment, but the British

---

[25] Quoted in Bethell, p. 288. Not all formations reported low morale and confinement to barracks was only one factor. Suspension of leave programs and disruption of mail from Britain were important problems: General G. H. A. MacMillan, 'Palestine: Narrative of Events from February 1947 until Withdrawal of all British Troops (hereafter cited as Palestine Narrative)', p. 35, Papers of General Sir Gordon MacMillan of MacMillan, Imperial War Museum, London; see also 2 Inf. Bde., Quarterly Historical Reports, 1946, WO 261/191-2.

[26] Bethell, pp. 271, 277, 308; Fergusson, pp. 224-5; see also Chapter IV.

[27] 6 AB Div., 'Report on Attack on Airborne Car Park Tel Aviv, 25 April 1946', WO 169/22978.

felt that murder was the first priority and the capture of arms only a secondary consideration. Cohen might well be correct: under the terms of the resistance agreement the Lechi was permitted to carry out 'freelance' raids for arms. But it is hard to ignore the fact that Lechi doctrine con-condoned and even encouraged the premeditated killing of members of the security forces, and the Lechi had officially declared war on the Palestine Administration in February 1946. Eyewitness accounts of the attack, moreover, indicated that there was no attempt to avoid inflicting casualties even when no resistance was offered.[28] If the attack was intended to generate a harsh British response it had a measure of success. Troops searched part of the city and placed it under curfew. Major-General Cassels, the divisional commander, publicly rebuked the Mayor of Tel Aviv for alleged complicity of the Jewish community in the attack. Small groups of soldiers engaged in reprisals on two Jewish communities. And the attack may have induced Attlee to state several days later that disarmament of the Jewish underground would have to precede implementation of the Anglo-American Commission's report.[29] The Lechi attack probably had three long-term effects: it hampered peaceful resolution of the Palestine problem by reinforcing British intransigence; it contributed to the deterioration of the security situation by further souring relations between the security forces and the Jewish community; and it enhanced the credibility of insurgent propaganda by producing an unauthorized response which brought the security forces into disrepute.

The Irgun abducted members of the security forces

---

[28] Ibid.; HQ Palestine, 'FIN no. 8', 17 Feb. 1946, WO 169/23021; Bethell, pp. 232-3.

[29] Bevin referred to the incident while discussing with the American Secretary of State the report of the Anglo-American Commission: Bethell, p. 235; see also Chapter II.

and other British personnel on three occasions between December 1946 and July 1947. In December a military court had sentenced two Irgun members to receive, in addition to their prison sentences, 18 strokes of the cane. The Irgun warned that they would retaliate in kind if the sentences were carried out. After the first flogging the Irgun abducted and flogged a British Army major and three sergeants. The Irgun warned that the next time they would respond with gunfire. On the orders of the High Commissioner the Chief Secretary remitted the second flogging sentence. Then on 24 January 1947 Cunningham confirmed the death sentence on Dov Gruner, an Irgun member captured in an attack on a police station in April 1946. The Irgun warned that it would carry out executions in reply, turning Palestine into 'a bloodbath' if Gruner was hanged. To give credibility to their threat they kidnapped Tel Aviv District Judge Ralph Windham and a British businessman. The cabinet in London refused to set aside the sentence but Cunningham postponed it, ostensibly pending an appeal to the Privy Council. Judge Windham and the businessman were then released.[30]

Finally, in July 1947 the Irgun captured Sergeants Martin and Paice of Field Security and held them as hostages against the death sentences passed on three insurgents. Searches failed to locate the sergeants and their captors and on 29 July the Palestine Government carried out its executions. Two days later the two sergeants were found hanging from a tree near Nathanya. They were booby-trapped and an officer was wounded as the bodies were recovered. An Irgun poster explained that Martin and Paice had been

---

[30] Foreign Office, 'Weekly Intelligence Summary (hereafter cited as WIS)', 7 Jan. 1947, FO 371/61761; CM, 27-8 Jan. 1947, CAB 128/9; Bell, Terror Out of Zion, pp. 188-9; Bethell, p. 291; Kirk, p. 234; Wilson, Cordon and Search, pp. 87-8.

executed not in reprisal but following a trial by an underground court, which found them guilty of illegal entry into the Jewish homeland, membership in a criminal organization--the British Army, illegal possession of arms, espionage and conspiracy.[31]

Although it did not involve kidnapping, the Irgun's attack on Acre prison on 4 May 1947 bears mentioning here since it was carried out in response to the execution of Dov Gruner and three other insurgents on 16 April. Forty-one Irgun and Lechi members, along with 214 Arabs, escaped in the daring rescue operation, but four of the freed insurgents and four attackers were killed and 13 captured.[32] According to Begin the Irgun carried out the floggings because it regarded the sentences of the court humiliating and degrading to the Jews. The other hostages were seized simply to stop the hangings. When this failed in April because strict British security measures precluded capturing British personnel the Irgun carried out the dramatic prison raid. Begin regarded this last operation as a failure because of the casualties and arrests of his own men: 'It was our duty to pay the hangman in precisely his own coin. And we did not succeed.'[33] The British did not believe the Acre operation had been planned and executed in the brief period following Gruner's execution and Eitan Haber suggests that the Irgun had more than just retaliation in mind. He notes that in the latter half of April the rebellion was at a standstill and Begin, convinced that the British would cave in under slightly more pressure, insisted on more activity. The operation against Acre would serve both the

---

[31] 1 Inf. Div., 'Report on Operation TIGER", WO 261/181; Begin, 288-90; Wilson, Cordon and Search, pp. 132-4.

[32] Bell, Terror Out of Zion, pp. 204-18.

[33] Begin, pp. 231, 257, 275-83; Bethell, pp. 336, 338.

immediate needs of releasing men from prison and the long-term strategy of leverage against Britain.[34]

Although Begin never states it in his book, the intention to undermine the law enforcement process was implicit in all of these actions. Twice in the space of one month the Irgun could claim that it had forced the government to retreat from enforcement of the decision of its courts in Palestine. Moreover, it appears that these incidents contributed in a significant way to the asset to liability shift which eventually persuaded the British Government to leave Palestine. Remission of the second caning sentence caused considerable controversy within the government and Creech-Jones conceded that the government was humiliated by the successful kidnappings and other terrorist acts. An editorial in the Daily Telegraph concluded that the evacuation of non-essential personnel in February 1947 which followed the kidnappings was a tacit admission that terrorism had succeeded in making Palestine ungovernable and raised the status of the Irgun to that of an armed revolt, which it could claim as a victory.[35] Colonel Gray, Inspector-General of Police, later confided to an Israeli journalist that he felt the floggings, the Acre prison break, and the hanging of the two sergeants were the events which shook the government sufficiently to persuade them to think about relinquishing the Mandate:

> In 1947 Britain was still an empire, and an empire . . . cannot allow itself one thing: to lose prestige and become a laughing-stock. . . . When the underground killed our men, we could treat it as murder; but when they erected gallows and executed our men, it was as if

---

[34] Haber, pp. 182-3; Wilson, Cordon and Search, p. 123. There was a substantial reduction in the number of incidents after the imposition of martial law in March 1947: see this chapter, fn. 75.

[35] Daily Telegraph and Morning Post, New York Herald Tribune, 1 Feb. 1947.

> they were saying, "We rule here as much as you do", and that no administration can bear. Our choice was obvious. Either total suppression or get out, and we chose the second.[36]

The insurgents also carried out more than 90 attacks against targets of economic importance. Most of the operations consisted of attempts to mine the railway, resulting in damage or derailment of more than 20 trains. Five major railway stations were bombed or attacked. There were 12 attacks on petroleum industry targets, consisting mainly of sabotage of the oil pipeline. The Lechi carried out the most costly single operation on 30/31 March 1947 when they destroyed 16,000 tons of petroleum products in the Shell Oil Company installations of Haifa. These attacks were, of course, an important element in the Lechi's anti-imperialist strategy and they achieved a measure of success. First, they increased the already heavy financial burden of the Palestine Government by raising both the direct and indirect costs of security. Secondly, the attacks forced the security forces to divert troops from offensive operations to defensive tasks which posed no threat to the insurgent organizations themselves.[37] Tactically, then, this form of economic warfare was very efficient.

Security Force Operations

Security force operations passed through four distinct phases during the two year period. From October 1945 to the end of June 1946 the security forces carried out a peacekeeping role, involving searches and security operations. The second phase, from 29 June to early September, was characterized by a major offensive against

---

[36] Quoted in Haber, p. 191.

[37] Security force operations intended to protect the railway and the oil refineries are discussed later in this chapter; see also Chapter VIII, Appendices VI, VIII.

the insurgents, including two division-size search operations. The security forces returned to peacekeeping in the third phase, which continued until the end of February 1947. During the final phase, from March through August, the security forces went on the offensive again, this time employing martial law and special operations. Each of these phases will be examined in turn.

Peacekeeping

On 21 October 1945 all army formations deployed to their operational locations and tasks: protection of land lines of communication, airfields and other vulnerable points, and prevention of illegal immigration by land and sea. The 3rd Parachute Brigade deployed on the outskirts of Tel Aviv where it took responsibility for internal security in Jaffa District, potentially the most troublesome area. In spite of these preparations the security forces were caught completely by surprise when the insurgents launched their offensive on 31 October. The troops spent most of the night 'dashing around the countryside' and captured only one insurgent. On 1 November the GOC imposed a road curfew and formations mounted roadblocks to enforce it. Similar scenarios were repeated many times during the next two years.[38]

A fortnight later Jews rioted in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv in protest against British policy and provided the first major test of the army's internal security doctrine. The security forces quickly brought Jerusalem under control, but spent five days restoring order in Tel Aviv. Trouble began with a general strike on 14 November: a peaceful demonstration in the afternoon deteriorated into attacks on government buildings. By the time troops arrived mobs had

---

[38] HQ Palestine, 'message', 19 Oct. 1945, WO 169/19745; see also WO 169/19685, 19697, 19699, 19701, 19703, 19706; Wilson, Cordon and Search, p. 22; Blaxland, p. 31.

nearly overwhelmed the police. At 1840 hours 'C' Company 8th Battalion, the Parachute Regiment, advanced into Tel Aviv in slow moving lorries with horns blaring, bayonets fixed, and signs in three languages warning 'Disperse or We Fire'. The troops cleared Colony Square and took up positions blocking the roads into it. The crowd, now numbering in the thousands, stoned the soldiers, inflicting some serious casualties. After repeated warnings by a magistrate using a loudhailer went unheeded, an officer directed selected marksmen to fire several rounds to disperse the crowd. The mob withdrew but continued to wreak havoc in other parts of the city. At 2040 the remainder of the battalion arrived and after an hour they had restored order in the city. The following morning mobs violated a curfew and attacked businesses. After consultations with the divisional commander Brigadier Lathbury moved two more battalions into Tel Aviv and by evening the city was quiet once more. Further reinforcements, another battalion and two armoured car regiments, arrived on the 16th. Before dawn on the 17th troops distributed a government proclamation which directed all citizens to behave in an orderly manner and warned that the government would take all measures necessary to maintain order. Gradually the curfew was relaxed and on the 20th the soldiers returned to their camps. Six Jews died in the rioting and 60 were wounded. Twelve soldiers were wounded, and 30 treated for slight injuries. Operation BELLICOSE, as the task was named, was a tactical success: order was restored and no rioting on this scale occurred again during the next two years. Owing to the casualties, however, it was undoubtedly a propaganda success for the Jews.[39]

---

[39] 3 Para. Bde., 'ISUM no. 3', 28 Nov. 1945, WO 169/19705; see also WO 169/19745, 19685, 19920, 19921; Wilson, Cordon and Search, pp. 27-9; Blaxland, pp. 32-3; see Chapter VII.

Commencing with operations at Givat Hayim and Rishpon at the end of November, the security forces conducted more than 55 searches before the end of June 1946. These had two objectives: to capture wanted persons--insurgents or illegal immigrants--and/or to seize illegal caches of arms, explosives, military equipment or documents.[40] A typical search of a rural settlement took place at Yemini in northern Palestine early in 1946. Following the derailment and robbery of a train on 12 January the 9th Infantry Brigade stood to with divisional troops under command and on call. The brigade mounted four roadblocks and an aircraft surveyed the scene of the incident. The commander of the 3rd Infantry Division, responsible for security of the northern sector, visited the site in the afternoon and, following consultations with the DSP, ordered the brigade to cordon and search Yemini commencing at dawn the following morning. Armoured units provided the outer cordon consisting of mobile patrols between the roadblocks. Four battalions shared responsibility for the inner cordon. Two companies from one battalion provided the search and clearance troops, while elements of another erected and guarded the 'cage' (holding area for suspects) and provided a reserve. All troops were in position just before dawn. At 0600 the brigadier, the DSP and their escort drove into the settlement and ordered the Mukhtar (the village headman) to parade all males aged 16-45 years and all females aged 16-30 years. The Mukhtar and the inhabitants cooperated fully. The search began at 0700 and finished two hours later. At 1025 the police took 16 suspects to Athlit for further questioning, the cordons withdrew, and residents returned to their

---

[40] Wilson, Cordon and Search, p. 36. The war diaries did not always record and identify individually each search operation; the number cited is the known minimum: see Appendix VII.

homes.[41]

Rural settlements like Yemini could be isolated and searched easily, but the urban areas of Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and Haifa did not lend themselves to such large operations. Cities offered the insurgents unlimited opportunities to escape and hide, to blend in with the population, or to observe and ambush the security forces. The old city of Jerusalem, with its network of streets and alleys, passages and stairways, was almost impossible to police, patrol, or isolate effectively. Thus, urban searches tended to be small unit operations against specific targets. In January 1946 police supported by one platoon of soldiers carried out a typical operation, a search of eight houses in one sector of Jerusalem.[42] Following the car park murders on 25 April 1946, the 2nd Parachute Brigade conducted a much larger search operation in Tel Aviv. The insurgents attacked at 2045 and withdrew into the Yeminite section of the Yarkon quarter of the city. At 2230 the security forces imposed a curfew and the 6th Battalion, the Gordon Highlanders, cordoned that section of Tel Aviv. Elements of the Police Mobile Force with the 5th Parachute Battalion and an engineer squadron in support initiated the search at 0530 on the 26th. When the operation ended at 1205 the police had questioned 1,491 persons, and had detained 79 although there was no proof that they had taken part in the attack. The police also recovered a quantity of military equipment and plans for an attack on Athlit clearance camp.[43]

---

[41] 3 Inf. Div., 'Report of Train Robbery 12 Jan. 46 and Subsequent Search 13 Jan. 46', WO 169/22967; 9 Inf. Bde., 'Report on Cordon and Search Ops, Yemini 13 Jan. 46', WO 169/23003; see also Brigadier R. N. Anderson, 'Search Operations in Palestine: The Problems of the Soldier', Army Quarterly, LV (1947-48), 204-8.

[42] 185 Inf. Bde., 'Schedule of Anti-Terrorist Measures 28-31 Jan. 46', WO 169/23006.

[43] 6 AB Div., war diary, Oct.-Nov. 1945, WO 169/

Security operations--patrols, roadblocks, raids, and guard duties--were a constant aspect of internal security in Palestine. Unlike searches, which had a definite beginning and conclusion, security operations were endless. There were a large number of vulnerable points which had to be protected: military installations and government buildings, the railway, Haifa port and oil refinery, water reservoirs and pumping stations, transportation links, and police stations which were undermanned or vulnerable to attack. In addition, troops constantly patrolled their sectors on foot and in vehicles. Patrols served two functions. First, they allowed the soldiers to become familiar with their areas of responsibility, thereby increasing the flow of background information to the intelligence staffs. Secondly, they restricted the insurgents' freedom of movement and increased the chances of their being captured. This was particularly important in the large cities. Roadblocks were important for similar reasons. They were intended to interfere with insurgent freedom of action by preventing them from concentrating for operations or by apprehending them as they attempted to escape from the scene of an incident.[44]

The security forces in Jerusalem demonstrated the effectiveness of continuous urban security operations. In January 1946 the 185th Infantry Brigade was involved in improving the fixed wire defences of government offices, police and brigade headquarters, and other vulnerable points. In addition, 'during the times troops were not actively engaged in curfew patrols and searches, a large proportion were still patrolling the streets in consequence of the "war

---

22978; Wilson, Cordon and Search, p. 47.

[44] 6 AB Div., war diary, Oct.-Nov. 1945, WO 169/19685; 3 Inf. Bde., war diary, Oct.-Nov. 1945, WO 169/19703; see also Chapter III.

of nerves"'.[45] On the instructions of army headquarters, the patrols conducted a series of minor security operations, including sudden identity and baggage checks of pedestrians and passengers on public transportation. The army instituted a new system of emergency roadblocks which were mounted for short intervals on two occasions. Streets were patrolled constantly, and snap searches of houses and flats were so frequent that Jews commented that every Jewish house in Jerusalem had been searched at least once; the army acknowledged that their comments 'corresponded closely to the truth'.[46] The high degree of vigilance produced results. On 14 and 15 January the police received intelligence reports indicating that the insurgents were about to launch further operations; at the same time they noticed a self-imposed curfew in specific Jewish areas of the city, around the Palestine Broadcasting studios in particular. The security forces acted on the warning by completing additional wiring and by mounting extra foot patrols and mobile escorts for police cars in the appropriate areas of the city. The anticipated action occurred on the 19th when a mobile patrol encountered insurgents near the broadcasting studios. A firefight ensued, and on hearing the shooting and explosions troops established the pre-designated emergency roadblocks. This prevented the escape and permitted the capture of some of the insurgents. Subsequent searches produced further suspects, a large arms cache, and valuable intelligence.[47]

---

[45] 185 Inf. Bde., war diary, Jan. 1946, WO 169/23006.

[46] Ibid., and 'OI no. 2', 10 Jan. 1946, 'Schedule of Anti-Terrorist Measures 28-31 Jan. 46'; HQ Palestine, 'Directive--Searches and Road Checks', Jan. 1946, WO 169/23021. There were 10 identity checks and 15 searches in Jerusalem in January 1946. Emergency roadblocks provided a ring approximately one mile in diameter around the centre of the most likely targets.

[47] 185 Inf. Bde., war diary, Jan. 1946, and 'Report on Operations in Jerusalem 19 January and on Subsequent

This was one of the rare occasions when the security forces were able to develop background information into operational intelligence and to follow it up with appropriate operations. When this occurred the outcome was never in doubt, a factor which obviously impressed the insurgents; they conducted no further operations in Jerusalem until June.

The army and the police continued to work together in this manner throughout February and March. Their perserverance was rewarded again in March when the discovery of an arms cache was followed up by a security force raid which netted 30 suspected insurgents and led to 30 more arrests the following week.[48] When the 31st Infantry Brigade took over responsibility for Jerusalem at the end of March, it maintained the pressure: 46 foot patrols and mobile night patrols in April; 34 night patrols in May. In addition, the forces carried out raids on Jewish cafes, railroad stations, suspect houses, and persons under police supervision. These operations induced a long period of relative quiet in Jerusalem, but they were so effective as to be almost counter-productive: after the middle of May the security forces discontinued some patrols and roadblocks and removed the guard on the King David Hotel despite warnings of impending insurgent activity.[49] By relaxing their vigilance

---

Dates', WO 169/23006.

[48] 7 Inf. Bde., war diary, Feb.-Mar. 1946, WO 169/22999.

[49] 31 Inf. Bde., 'Anti-Terrorist Operations--Jerusalem', 31 Mar. 1946, 'Security Operations--Jerusalem', 'Foot Patrols--Jerusalem', Apr. 1946, WO 169/23005; 1st Battalion, Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, 'OI no. 12', 26 Mar. 1946, 'Guards, Patrols, etc.,--adjustments to', 17 May 1946, war diary, Apr.-May 1946, WO 169/23196. Removal of the guard at the hotel may have been the result of long-standing complaints by officers about excessive security: HQ Palestine, 'Notes on BGS Conference', 5 Jan. 1946, WO 169/23021.

at this time the security forces played right into the plans of the insurgents who were preparing the next wave of attacks, which included targets in Jerusalem.

The security forces also maintained a series of mobile patrols in Haifa--four per night, each lasting 14 hours and covering 80-100 miles through the streets of the city. In April they were reduced in scale, number, and length. At the same time the army switched from using static roadblocks, which had proven unproductive and expensive in terms of manpower, to using highly mobile roadblocks which would remain in one place for an hour or two, then switch to another location. In this way they intended to 'keep the possible "evil doer" guessing and give the impression of having more roadblocks in use than previously'.[50] As in the case of Jerusalem, Haifa was almost free of incidents and the security operations eventually produced results: on 17 June 1946 troops mounted four roadblocks around the city minutes after the attack on the railway workshops. The fleeing insurgents ran into one of these blocks and the entire group was killed or captured.[51]

Tel Aviv, on the other hand, was largely ignored by the security forces. Until autumn 1946 no troops were based permanently in the city; instead the battalion based at Sarona in the suburbs maintained a company on call to support the police at short notice. The security forces did not maintain continuous patrols and troops deployed into Tel Aviv only for specific search operations. As a result the insurgents conducted more operations there and in Jaffa (which was subject to the same security arrangements) than

---

[50] 1st King's Dragoon Guards, war diary, Jan. 1946, WO 169/23147; 3 Inf. Bde., 'Order for Night Patrols--Haifa', 2 Apr. 1946, 'Roadblocks', 5 Apr. 1946, WO 169/22995.

[51] 1 Inf. Div./North Palestine District, 'Outline Report--Incidents Night 17/18 June', 19 June 1946, WO 169/22957.

in the other large cities. There were sound reasons, however, for maintaining a low profile presence in Tel Aviv.[52]

Rural security operations produced mixed results owing to the inability of the forces to control vast areas of open country. In the northern sector the 1st Guards Brigade adopted a scheme for establishing quick-reaction roadblocks following incidents. Sited close to camps and police posts, however, they were obvious and easily avoided, though they ensured that the insurgents would have to approach targets and retreat by long cross-country routes. In April these roadblocks were supplemented by observation posts, snap road checks, and 'snooping patrols' by the 1st King's Dragoon Guards, valuable in maintaining a visible presence and creating 'an uncertain factor to be reckoned with in any plans laid down by lawbreakers'.[53] Sometimes these operations produced results: on 3 April 1946 aerial reconnaissance located a group of insurgents retreating across country following attacks on the railway. Troops and police quickly blocked all avenues of escape and captured 30 insurgents with weapons, explosives and equipment.[54] More often than not, however, the limitations of rural security operations were painfully obvious: in June 1946 army headquarters issued specific warnings about insurgent

---

[52] Wilson, Cordon and Search, p. 27; see Appendix VI. In order to base troops in Tel Aviv in large numbers the army would have been forced to requisition housing, which would have further antagonized the population of Palestine's only completely Jewish city. Moreover, camps in rural areas were easier to defend from attack.

[53] 3 Inf. Div., 'Directive no. 3--Further Lessons of Recent Ops', 6 Feb. 1946, 'Directive no. 6', 25 Feb. 1946, WO 169/22967; 1 Guards Bde., 'Local Alarm Scheme--Plan CAPITAL', 8 Mar. 1946, WO 169/22989; 1st King's Dragoon Guards, war diary, Feb. 1946, 'Operational Order (hereafter cited as OO) no. 6', 21 Apr. 1946, WO 169/23147.

[54] 8th Battalion, The Parachute Regiment, 'Report on Security Operation 3 April 1946', WO 169/22978.

operations anticipated for the 16th against lines of communication. Formations conducted snap road checks and carried out reconnaissance of railway bridges, to no avail; the insurgents reached their targets and most evaded capture.[55]

In his review of the situation in the Middle East at the beginning of 1946 General Sir Bernard Paget, Commander in Chief Middle East Forces, stated that in Palestine, 'The Army has not yet initiated any offensive action; any fighting that has been done has been carried out in support of police operations.'[56] This peacekeeping phase ended in June when, in response to the insurgent offensive, the security forces took action against the Jewish Agency and the Haganah.

First Offensive

The security forces' action took the form of a major search and arrest operation, code-named AGATHA. The operation had two tactical objectives: first, to occupy and search the Jewish Agency headquarters and other buildings suspected of being the headquarters of illegal organizations; and secondly, to arrest as many members of the Palmach as possible, as well as certain members of Jewish political bodies believed responsible for the recent upsurge of insurgent activity. The success of the operation depended upon surprise, so the security forces took strict precautions to ensure secrecy: all conferences were held away from headquarters and senior officers attending removed their distinctive red hatbands; written orders were kept to

---

[55] 1 Inf. Div./North Palestine District, 'OI no. 4', 15 June 1946, WO 169/22957; 3 Inf. Bde., 'Message', 15 June 1946, WO 169/22995; see also this chapter, fn. 11. 3 Inf. Bde. ordered a recce of railway bridges every 48 hours from the 15th. The insurgents attacked between the first and second checks.

[56] General Sir Bernard Paget, 'Middle East Review 1945', WO 169/22881.

a minimum, circulated in sealed envelopes to officers on a restricted list. Only brigade staffs, police superintendents and a few trusted members of their staffs were briefed before the morning of 28 June. Battalion and company commanders were briefed during the day at 'O' groups disguised as informal meetings of officers lower in rank than usual. The other ranks were not informed until late in the evening. The army made every effort to convey the impression that life was carrying on as normal; a large number of senior officers appeared on the 28th at the Jerusalem horse show. Troops in armoured regiments prepared their vehicles for an inspection, unaware that they were in fact preparing for a major operation.[57]

Commencing at 0405 hours 29 June parties of Royal Signals troops, escorting civilian personnel who had not been told of the operation and who were brought directly from their homes, occupied all exchanges and suspended all telephone communications across Palestine for more than three hours. This was sufficient to prevent telephone transmission of any warning of the impending operation. The GOC imposed road curfews in four districts and complete curfews in the main cities.[58] At the same time some 10,000 troops and 7,000 police deployed to their operational targets, the three main cities and 30 rural settlements. In the cities

---

[57] 1 Inf. Div./North Palestine District, 'OI no. 6, 7', 27/28 June 1946, WO 169/22957; 3 Inf. Bde., 'Op AGATHA--Briefing Program', 2 July 1946, WO 169/22995; 3 Para. Bde., 'OI--Operation AGATHA', 26 June 1946, WO 169/22997; 3rd King's Own Hussars, war diary, June 1946, WO 169/23148; Wilson, Cordon and Search, pp. 57-8; Blaxland, p. 37.

[58] 6 AB Div. Signals, 'Report on I.S. Signal Operation Completed 29 June 1946', WO 169/22982; 1 Inf. Div./North Palestine District, 'OI no. 6', 'AGATHA Summary no. 1', 29 June 1946, WO 169/22957; 31 Inf. Bde., 'OO no. 9', 28 June 1946, WO 169/23005; GOC Palestine, 'Curfew Order no. 1', 29 June 1946, WO 169/23022; GHQ Middle East Forces to War Office, 29 June 1946, WO 169/22879, Wilson, Cordon and Search, p. 59; Blaxland, p. 37.

parties of troops and police equipped with CID 'Black Lists' arrested wanted persons, generally at their homes. In addition, in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv they searched the premises of the Jewish Agency, the Histadruth and other organizations, in some cases forcing entry and blowing safes with explosives. Rural settlements were cordoned and searched in the usual manner. Police carried out interrogation and identification and sent suspects to Athlit or Latrun detention camps. However, Jewish anticipation of the operation and the alleged discovery of plans prevented the security forces from achieving complete surprise.[59]

Because the Jewish Agency was a legal organization, and because the Haganah made only modest efforts to conceal its activities, information on the two organizations was of high quality. The security forces knew whom to arrest and where to look for evidence, arms, and equipment. By 1 July the police had arrested 2,718 persons; many had been detained for resisting searches and were released after a short time. Seven hundred persons were placed in long-term detention, including four members of the Jewish Agency Executive, seven Haganah commanders, and about half of the membership of the Palmach. Other members of the Agency, the Histadruth, and the Va'ad Leumi (National Council) were held, but Moshe Sneh, the Haganah commander in chief, evaded arrest. In the Agency files the police found evidence implicating the organization in the activities of the

---

[59] HQ Palestine, 'Operational Log (hereafter cited as Ops Log) 28/29 June 1946 Op AGATHA', 'Confidential Situation Intelligence Report (hereafter cited as COSITINTREP) no. 562, 564', 29/30 June 1946, WO 169/23022; 1 Inf. Div./ North Palestine District, 'AGATHA Summary no. 1, 2', 29/30 June 1946, WO 169/22957; 6 AB Div., 'Ops Log', 29/30 June 1946, WO 169/22978; 1 Guards Bde., 'Report on Op AGATHA', 29 June/1 July 1946, WO 169/22989; 3 Para.Bde., 'Report on Operation AGATHA', 29/30 June 1946, WO 169/22997; Wilson, Cordon and Search, p. 59; Bethell, p. 249; Meir, p. 195; Trevor, p. 211.

resistance movement, as well as quantities of government documents revealing the extent of subversive penetration of the administration. Troops seized nine tons of documents in Tel Aviv alone.[60] At Mesheq Yagur, a settlement near Haifa, troops discovered 33 arms caches containing over 500 weapons and a large quantity of munitions. The Haganah did not have many such armouries, so the loss was a serious blow to the resistance movement.[61] During the course of operation AGATHA the security forces encountered only light resistance, mainly of a passive nature, and casualties were few.[62]

In mid-July the army returned to routine security operations, but following the bombing of the King David Hotel troops searched parts of Jerusalem and the police arrested

---

[60] GHQ Middle East Forces to War Office, 29 June 1946, WO 169/22879; GSI GHQ Middle East Forces, 'WMIR no. 67', 5 July 1946, WO 169/22882; HQ Palestine, 'Ops Log', WO 169/23022; 2 Para. Bde., 'Report: Operation AGATHA', 1 July 1946, WO 169/22992; 1st Battalion, Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, 'Internal Security Operations Carried Out by 1st Battalion, Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders from 1700 28 June 1946 to 2400 29 June 1946', WO 169/23196; 1 Inf. Div./ North Palestine District, 'AGATHA Summary no. 2', 30 June 1946, WO 169/22957; 3 Para. Bde., 'Report on Operation AGATHA', WO 169/22997; Begin, p. 204; Hurewitz, p. 255; Wilson, Cordon and Search, pp. 60-2. Jewish policemen involved in examining captured documents destroyed many of those which would incriminate the Haganah or the Jewish Agency: Bethell, p. 251.

[61] Statement by George Hall, 10 July 1946, FO 371/52538; Begin, p. 210; arms and munitions found at Mesheq Yagur included: 10 machine guns, 78 pistols, 92 two-inch mortars, 321 rifles, 475 pounds of explosives, 5,017 grenades, 5,267 mortar bombs, and 425,000 rounds of ammunition.

[62] G(Ops)1 GHQ Middle East Forces, 'COSITINTREP no. 186', 30 June 1946, WO 169/22879; HQ Palestine. 'COSITINTREP no. 562, 564', GOC to formation commanders and I.G. Police, 30 June 1946, WO 169/23022. Total casualties: three Jews killed, 60 injured (16 hospitalized) and one British soldier killed accidentally.

376 persons who had been under supervision.[63] The government directed further that the security forces institute an intensive search for members of the Irgun and the Lechi, so for the second time within one month the army and the police carried out a large-scale operation: code-named SHARK, it involved cordoning and searching the entire city of Tel Aviv. The 6th Airborne Division was the conducting formation, with four brigades and supporting arms and services under command, amassing a total force of 21,000 troops. Operation SHARK posed unique problems. First, as in the case of AGATHA secrecy was essential; the insurgents certainly expected some major response. But unlike the previous operation the whole force had to be concentrated on one target. It would not be possible to camouflage troop deployments by dispersing units in all directions. Secondly, the army would be responsible not only for searching all buildings and screening all persons in the city, but also for maintaining essential services to the population for the duration of the search. Third, to be effective the search had to be launched as soon as possible, despite the fact that the army had no plans for an operation of this magnitude. Finally, there was very little intelligence upon which to act against the Irgun.[64]

Before dawn on 30 July signals troops disrupted telephone service while the four brigades converged on Tel Aviv by different routes. They drew a cordon around the city, isolating it from north to south, before the columns passed through into Tel Aviv. Police and navy launches patrolled the waterfront. Troops had imposed a 36-hour

---

[63] 2 Para. Bde., 'Diary of Events--Operation HARRY II, 14-20 July 1946', WO 261/213; Trevor, p. 229.

[64] CM, 25 July 1946, CAB 128/6; GOC Palestine, 'Military Action to be Taken to Enforce Law and Order in Palestine', 22 June 1946, Cunningham Papers, V/4; Wilson, Cordon and Search, pp. 67, 72-3.

curfew before most inhabitants were awake. The brigades then laid inner cordons dividing the city into four sectors, and then sub-divided their sectors into battalion areas. The thorough nature of the operation was its unique feature: troops and police searched every building on every street from roof to cellar, then escorted all but children and the elderly to battalion screening teams, who identified and interrogated some 100,000 people. Approximately 10,000, mostly males aged 16-60 years, were sent for further screening at brigade level where CID officers checked the identity of each person against photographs and descriptions of wanted persons. When the operation ended on 2 August the police sent 787 persons to detention camp, including Yitshak Yizernitsky, a member of the Lechi's leadership triumvirate. They failed to identify Friedman-Yellin, however, and missed Begin who was hiding behind a false wall in his apartment. Troops found five arms caches, the largest hidden in the basement of the Great Synagogue. Essential services worked smoothly: curfew was lifted briefly in the evenings to allow the population to obtain food and other necessary services within their restricted sectors.[65]

The British offensive ended with battalion-size searches at Dorot and Ruhama in August and Operation HAZARD, the imposition of a curfew in Tel Aviv, in early September.[66] With the exception of deployments to protect the railway in

---

[65] 2 Inf. Bde., 'OO no. 2--Op. SHARK', 28 July 1946, WO 261/191; 2 Para. Bde., 'Report on Operation SHARK', 3 Aug. 1946, WO 261/213; Charteris to author, 9 Nov. 1976; Wilson, Cordon and Search, pp. 67-8, 70-1; Begin, pp. 227-30. The arms caches yielded: four machine guns, 23 mortars, 176 rifles, 127,000 rounds of ammunition, a large quantity of explosives, and £50,000 in forged bearer bonds.

[66] 2 Para. Bde., 'Report on Op HAZARD 9/10 September 1946', 11 Sept. 1946, WO 261/213; Wilson, Cordon and Search, pp. 79-81. The searches at Dorot and Ruhama produced considerably quantities of weapons and munitions.

November, HAZARD was the last large-scale operation until the end of 1946.

Peacekeeping

Up to the middle of November most operations were small-unit actions. The 2nd Parachute Brigade carried out a series of snap searches, road checks, and searches of houses and blocks of flats, usually employing no more than one or two platoons in conjunction with the police. Battalions conducted two cordon and search operations. In a major shift in deployment policy the brigade maintained one company at police headquarters in Tel Aviv for immediate employment on anti-terrorist operations. To counteract the effects of road mining, the 1st and 2nd Parachute Brigades established a road curfew at night, restricting movement to specific routes, and mounted mobile patrols, mobile and static roadblocks, and off-road foot patrols. The 9th Infantry Brigade, on duty in Jerusalem, carried out security operations in the usual manner.[67]

In the middle of November the security forces launched Operation EARWIG to protect the railway from sabotage that had brought rail operations to a halt. EARWIG consumed large numbers of troops on purely defensive guard duties throughout the whole length of the railway in Palestine. In southern Palestine the whole airborne division, with the exception of several reserve battalions, was deployed on this task protecting 70 miles of track. The division divided its sector into three zones, each assigned a different density of troops according to the degree of danger. Small observation posts linked by patrols

---

[67] 2 Para. Bde., 'OI no. 8--Operation COMB', 19 Sept. 1946, 'OI no. 11--Enforcement of Curfew', 27 Oct. 1946, WO 261/213; 1 Para. Bde., 'OI no. 12--Brigade Commander's IS Conference 31 October 1946', 'OO no. 16', 3 Nov. 1946, WO 261/209; 9 Inf. Bde., 'OI no. 10', 7 Nov. 1946, WO 261/207.

were established 500-1,000 yards apart in the most hazardous areas, which were also patrolled at night. Every morning the company responsible for a given sector inspected the line with the railway gangs before trains were allowed to pass. Aircraft also surveyed the line at first light. The army was employed in this manner for a month, though the numbers were reduced after the first fortnight. EARWIG was successful: sabotage ceased and normal rail service was gradually restored.[68]

The tempo of operations increased in response to the flogging incidents of 29 December 1946. Between 30 December and 3 January 1947 the airborne division carried out seven brigade-size searches in Tel Aviv and its suburbs. More than 10,000 people were screened and 191 arrested or detained. In addition, troops found small quantities of arms and explosives. They achieved a higher degree of success when they returned to small-unit operations. Operation OCTOPUS, 7-17 January, consisted of a series of raids on specific areas of known insurgent activity, guided by accurate intelligence. Supported by snap searches and mobile roadblocks, the raids netted 90 persons, of whom a much larger proportion than usual was detained in custody. In Rishon Le Zion alone the security forces arrested 12 members of the Irgun, including three important members.[69]

Operations ceased for about one week in the middle of January while the army reorganized. The two divisions exchanged areas: the airborne division assumed responsibility for northern Palestine, while the 1st Infantry Division took over a new central sector consisting of Lydda

---

[68] 1 Para. Bde., 'OO no. 18', 14 Nov. 1946, WO 261/209; see also WO 261/213; Wilson, Cordon and Search, pp. 82-4.

[69] WO 261/209-10; Dimoline to Dempsey, 9 Jan. 1947, Pyman Diaries 6/1/2; Wilson, Cordon and Search, pp. 88-9, 91, 235-6.

and Samaria districts and a small portion of Haifa district. The 8th Infantry Brigade moved from Egypt to take command of Gaza district, which was designated the southern sector. Shortly after arriving in the north the airborne division was reduced in strength as the 2nd Parachute Brigade embarked for Britain.[70]

The army resumed operations as soon as the formations redeployed. The 1st Guards Brigade, now assigned to the turbulent Lydda district, continued the OCTOPUS scheme through February while the 9th Infantry Brigade carried out a similar programme in Jerusalem. The 3rd Parachute Brigade found Haifa quiet, but there were more targets to protect; the naval depot, the oil refinery and the pipeline.[71] The kidnappings at the end of January 1947 disrupted these routines almost immediately. The 8th Infantry Brigade cordoned and searched Petah Tiqva and the 9th Infantry Brigade carried out two battalion-size searches in the Jewish quarters of Jerusalem. The abductions resulted in additional duties for the security forces: they assisted in the evacuation of non-essential personnel, and later provided guards, patrols and mobile reserves to protect the security zones.[72] The concentration and cantonment of

---

[70] WO 261/187, 202, 210; Wilson, Cordon and Search, pp. 92, 97. Some felt the reorganization disrupted security arrangements unnecessarily at a time when the security forces were getting on top of the situation: Gale, p. 171.

[71] 3 Para. Bde., 'OI no. 25--IS in Haifa District', 23 Jan. 1947, WO 216/218; 9 Inf. Bde., 'OI no. 13', 23 Jan. 1947, WO 261/208; 1 Guards Bde., 'OI no. 2', 25 Jan. 1947, WO 261/187.

[72] 9 Inf. Bde., 'OI no. 17: Cantonment Plan', 2 Feb. 1947, WO 261/208; see also WO 261/202, 210; Foreign Office, 'WIS', 4, 13 Feb. 1947, FO 371/61761; Washington to Foreign Office, 3 Feb. 1947, FO 371/61765; Wilson, Cordon and Search, pp. 102-5. According to Hurewitz, p. 282, only 11 British civilians resided outside the security zones by the end of February.

British personnel marked the end of the peacekeeping phase.

Offensive

On 2 March 1947, following a large number of incidents, the Palestine Government imposed Statutory Martial Law on Tel Aviv and its suburbs and on a Jewish sector of Jerusalem, with the intention of putting an end to terrorism in those areas. The process did not involve a military takeover of civil administration, but rather the withdrawal of public services and the imposition of certain restrictions on the activities of the population within the martial law areas. Military courts, however, replaced civil courts and heard military, civil, and criminal cases during the martial law period.[73]

The controlled area of Jerusalem covered a Jewish quarter where many incidents had recently occurred. It included both rich and poor neighbourhoods and a business and shopping area, which facilitated feeding the population and bringing pressure to bear equally on a cross section of the community. One battalion with an armoured car troop in support controlled and administered the area. Tel Aviv posed a problem of greater magnitude: the martial law area covered some 50 square miles, enclosing a population of more than 300,000 people. The 1st Guards Brigade was the conducting formation with four additional battalions, an armoured regiment, and supporting arms and services under command. Most of these were deployed on the long cordon around the controlled area. The operation was carried out in four phases: imposition of a strict curfew; cordoning the area; publication of regulations and issuing of passes;

---

[73] 1 Inf. Div., 'Report on Operation ELEPHANT', pp. 4, 30, Papers of General Sir Rodney Moore, Hampton Court, Surrey; 9 Inf. Bde., 'OI no. 19, 20--Op HIPPO MINIMUS', 1, 7 Mar. 1947, WO 261/208; CP 107, 'Report by Chiefs of Staff: Palestine--Imposition of Martial Law', 26 Mar. 1947, CAB 129/18.

and gradual relaxation of the curfew and restoration of near normal living conditions.[74]

Martial law imposed a dual responsibility on the security forces. First, they had to carry out security operations within the controlled areas; secondly, they had to administer these areas, by far the more demanding task. In Jerusalem the martial law headquarters staff included advisers in all fields of civil affairs, and the commander met daily with seven elders representing the interests of the community. Owing to its size and scope the Tel Aviv operation, aptly code-named ELEPHANT, required a larger and more formal organization. On the third day of martial law Brigadier Moore appointed a civil advisory council empowered to make immediate decisions necessary to fill the administrative gaps created by martial law. The council included representatives from all essential services and the security forces. It met four times during the operation, dealing with problems related to food distribution, health and sanitation, welfare, public works and unemployment.[75] Martial law ended at noon on 17 March. Daily searches in the controlled area of Jerusalem had resulted in the detention of 129 persons and the discovery of a mine assembly factory, but had not produced new information on the insurgents. Troops in Tel Aviv had conducted four major as well as many smaller searches. In all the security forces made at least 60 arrests, including 24 members of the Irgun and the Lechi. Although martial law did not eliminate terrorism--incidents occurred even in the

---

[74] 1 Inf. Div., 'Report on Operation ELEPHANT', pp. 4, 44, Moore Papers; 9 Inf. Bde., 'OI no. 19', 'Report on Op HIPPO MINIMUS', 22 Mar. 1947, WO 261/208.

[75] 1 Inf. Div., 'Report on Operation ELEPHANT', pp. 66-79, Moore Papers; 9 Inf. Bde., 'OI no. 20', 'Report on Op HIPPO MINIMUS', 22 Mar. 1947, WO 261/208.

controlled areas--the arrests were apparently a major blow to the insurgents; during the next quarter of 1947 the rate of insurgent operations declined by more than 50 per cent.[76]

On the day martial law was lifted Captain Roy Farran, a highly decorated veteran of the Special Air Services Regiment (SAS), and Alistair McGregor, a former member of the Special Operations Executive (SOE), arrived in Palestine to conduct special operations against the insurgents. They selected two squads of ten men each from the ranks of the police and commenced operations at the beginning of April, after only a fortnight's training. The nature and results of their operations remain something of a mystery. Richard Clutterbuck claims that, acting on a pattern of intelligence built up gradually by covert surveillance, Farran's squad 'eliminated' as many insurgents in six weeks as a battalion employing cordon and search operations. Farran's claims are more modest: he states that his squad worked 'round the clock' for two months, 'watching, following, listening and occasionally making an arrest'.[77] Only one operation has been described in any detail: Farran's squad 'borrowed' a laundry delivery van detained at a bogus roadblock and, acting on intelligence from an informer, used the van as camouflage--allowing the squad to capture an insurgent courier and some of his contacts. They later returned the van with an apologetic

---

[76] CM, 20 Mar. 1947, CAB 128/9; CP 107, 26 Mar. 1947; see also Colonial Office, monthly reports, April-June 1947, CO 537/2281; Pyman Diaries, 24 Apr. 1947, 6/1/4; see Appendix VI. The Chiefs of Staff reported 78 arrests, which may have included some arrests made subsequent to the operation itself.

[77] Bethell, p. 302; Fergusson, pp. 210-1, 225-6; Roy Farran, Winged Dagger: Adventures on Special Service (London, 1948), pp. 348, 351; Lieutenant-Colonel R. L. Clutterbuck, 'Bertrand Stewart Prize Essay 1960', AQDJ, XXCI (1960), p. 167.

explanation to the driver.[78] Obviously it is not possible to assess the effectiveness of the squads on the basis of such scant evidence. But it is worth noting that during this time the insurgents attempted to assassinate more plain-clothes policemen than usual, a development which suggests that the activities of the squads made the insurgents suspicious of police surveillance and hence 'trigger happy'. The squads were probably on the right track, but Farran's cover was blown before they could produce significant results.[79]

The security forces carried out 63 search operations from May through July 1947, quite apart from the special operations or the application of martial law.[80] The army imposed martial law on Nathanya in July in response to the abduction of the two sergeants. Operation TIGER was intended to permit a thorough search for the missing soldiers and to prevent a recurrence of terrorism within the controlled areas. From 13 to 27 July the 1st Guards Brigade, with two additional battalions and an armoured regiment under command, maintained a tight cordon around the city. A civil affairs advisory council was established the day before the operation commenced, but the administrative problems were not as formidable as those of Tel Aviv, since the controlled area of Nathanya contained only 15,000 persons. Daily searches led to the capture of 18 wanted persons and economic pressure was brought to bear on the community, but TIGER was nonetheless unsuccessful: it did

---

[78] Farran, pp. 370-1; Fergusson, p. 227. This is probably the operation described in Colin Mitchell, Having Been a Soldier (London, 1969), p. 61.

[79] Colonial Office, monthly report, April 1947, CO 537/2281; see also Chapter VII, VIII.

[80] MacMillan to Simpson, 3 Aug. 1947, Pyman Diaries, 6/1/8.

not coerce the population into cooperation with the security forces and did not result in the recovery of the missing sergeants. General Gale, moreover, was not convinced that the operation would prevent a recurrence of terrorism in the area.[81]

The security forces maintained the offensive, however. On 5 August they arrested some 70 members of the Revisionist Party, including the mayors of Tel Aviv, Ramat Gan, and Nathanya, and occupied the headquarters of Betar, the Revisionist youth organization. The government detained these persons because it was believed they had information about the insurgents which they had not disclosed. But detention produced no results: the detainees refused to divulge any information, and though the police felt they had arrested two persons directly involved in the murder of the two sergeants, there was insufficient evidence on which to bring them to trial.[82]

With that the offensive phase and the counter-insurgency campaign itself came to an end. While the British Government and the United Nations deliberated the future of Palestine, the Jews and the Arabs initiated the next stage in the struggle: between 8 August and 30 September there were more than 25 incidents of communal violence; by contrast there were only 13 attacks on the security forces during that period.[83] After the British Government

---

[81] 1 Inf. Div., 'Report on Operation TIGER', WO 261/181; CP 208, 'Memorandum by Secretary of State for the Colonies: Palestine--Security Measures', 19 July 1947, CAB 128/20; Minutes of Security Conference, 26 July 1947, Cunningham Papers.

[82] MacMillan, 'Palestine Narrative', p. 9, MacMillan Papers; Minutes of Security Conference, 8 Aug. 1947, Cunningham Papers. Betar was known to be a principal source of recruiting for the Irgun.

[83] Colonial Office, 'Palestine Situation--Outrages 1947', CO 537/477.

announced in September its intention to withdraw from Palestine the security forces increasingly found themselves trying to keep the peace in a bitter communal conflict to which they were only an unwelcome third party. The insurgent and security force operations were only the military manifestations of a political struggle. Propaganda, an important political weapon in the insurgent strategy, will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER VII
PROPAGANDA

The leverage strategies of the Jewish insurgent groups assigned a major role to propaganda: to promote the political objectives of the insurgents and to undermine the legitimacy of the British administration in Palestine. In many cases, insurgent military actions were undertaken specifically to produce propaganda results in the political battle.[1] This chapter will examine the insurgent propaganda campaign and the British counter-measures in order to determine which side won the propaganda war.

Jacques Ellul has defined propaganda as 'a set of methods employed by an organized group that wants to bring about the active or passive participation in its actions of a mass of individuals, psychologically unified through psychological manipulations and incorporated in an organization'.[2] Ellul's definition suggests that propaganda's role is essentially an internal one: to bind people to a movement and to commit them to action. He recognizes that in a revolutionary setting propaganda can be employed to induce individuals to endure sacrifices for a cause.[3] This is obviously important in the context of insurgency, but implicit in his definition and equally important in the Palestine case is his proposition that propaganda is largely

---

[1] See Chapter VI.

[2] Jacques Ellul, Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes (New York, 1965), p. 61.

[3] Ibid., pp. 71-4.

ineffective when directed to a foreign country or against the enemy.[4] T. E. Lawrence may have been one of the first to recognize this limitation, as he assigned an order of priority to the task of propaganda, starting with his own soldiers:

> We had to arrange their minds in order of battle just as carefully and as formally as other officers would arrange their bodies. And not only our own men's minds, though naturally they came first. We must also arrange the minds of the enemy, so far as we could reach them; then those other minds of the nation supporting us behind the firing line, since more than half of the battle passed there in the back; then the minds of the enemy nation waiting the verdict; and of the neutrals looking on; circle beyond circle.[5]

In any case, propaganda was not a new weapon in 1945. Belligerents had employed it during both world wars and it had played a significant role in revolutionary subversion and insurgency.[6] Thus, most of the general principles of effective propaganda were established by the time that the Jewish insurgents launched their campaign. These principles might be summarized as follows: first, propaganda is almost exclusively an offensive weapon. Secondly, credibility is essential, so propaganda must be consistent with verifiable facts, upon which judgements can be made. Third, propaganda should be the servant, not the master, of policy. Fourth, propaganda cannot prevail against fundamental social trends and attitudes. Instead, it should attempt to incorporate and use them to further the objectives of the organization. Fifth, speed is essential since

---

[4] Ibid., p. 295.

[5] T. E. Lawrence, Seven Pillars of Wisdom (London, 1935), p. 195.

[6] For example, the Russian Revolution, the Irish rebellion and the Arab revolt before the war: Ian Greig, Subversion: Propaganda, Agitation and the Spread of People's War (London, 1973), pp. 28-30; Townshend, pp. 67, 117-9; Marlowe, Rebellion in Palestine, p. 158.

the first story on any incident will command the most attention. Finally, propaganda must be continuous to be effective.[7] Ellul adds a cautionary note that propaganda remains an imprecise art. The propagandist is unable to predict with certainty how each individual will react to his propaganda. Furthermore, when propaganda is directed against a foreign country, or when it is operating in a police state or a revolutionary situation, it may not be possible to judge effectiveness.[8] Conclusions as to the success of propaganda, therefore, are inclined to be tentative. Ellul concludes that propaganda may be considered successful when 'attitudes learned by propaganda begin to prevail over the "natural" attitudes that are man's second nature'.[9] Although it is by no means clear what he means by 'natural attitudes' it might be fair to suggest that he feels propaganda would be successful once prevailing social beliefs have been transformed from thought to some kind of action desired by the propagandist. In the context of insurgency Lawrence's criterion for successful propaganda is more lucid: 'We had won a province when we had taught the civilians in it to die for our ideal of freedom: the presence or absence of the enemy was a secondary matter.'[10]

---

[7] Propaganda in War and Crisis: Materials for American Policy, ed. Daniel Lerner (New York, 1951), pp. 260, 347, 421, 474; Sir Robert Bruce Lockhart, Comes the Reckoning (London, 1947), pp. 155, 262; Charles Roetter, Psychological Warfare (London, 1974), pp. 16-8; R. H. S. Crossman, 'Psychological Warfare', JRUSI, XCVII (1952), 320, 321, 324.

[8] Ellul, pp. 295, 298-9.

[9] Ibid., p. 302.

[10] T. E. Lawrence, 'The Evolution of a Revolt', in The Fourth Dimension of Warfare: Revolt to Revolution, ed. Michael Elliott-Bateman (Manchester, 1974), II, 152.

Insurgent Propaganda

In Palestine each of the insurgent organizations maintained its own propaganda branch, which included an illegal radio station and at least one underground newspaper.[11] One correspondent described the extensive propaganda effort:

> Thousands of copies of secret, illegal Jewish leaflets and bulletins issued by clandestine organizations, are distributed every day in Palestine. . . . Secret literature floods the post, leaflets are pasted surreptitiously on hoardings and vacant wall spaces, "pamphlet bombs" . . . explode in busy streets at night and shower their printed pamphlets far and wide in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and Haifa.[12]

The insurgents could rely on a measure of moral support from the legal Palestine press. The news media deplored violence but there was little disagreement on the basic objective of Zionism: the creation of an independent Jewish state. Even the two English language newspapers, The Palestine Post (daily) and The Palestine Tribune (weekly), were Zionist in editorial content. The Jewish population was served by 11 Hebrew daily newspapers, 18 weeklies, and 45 others which appeared fortnightly or less frequently. These tended to be divided along the same political lines as the insurgents themselves, so each group had its sympathizers and detractors in the legal press. The insurgents also carefully cultivated close relations with the international news media, particularly that of the United States, where the large, wealthy and influential pro-Zionist Jewish community was served by

---

[11] HC[6873], 3, BPP (1946); see also Chapter V and Appendix V.

[12] Quoted in Borisov, p. 79.

[13] Ministry of Information Overseas Planning Committee (hereafter cited as MOIOPC), Paper 577A, 'Plan of Propaganda for Palestine: Second Revision of Channels', 9 June 1945, CO 733/465; 1 Inf. Div., 'WIR no. 5', 7 May 1946, WO 169/22957.

a sympathetic news media. Twenty of the 24 national English language periodicals were sympathetic to the Zionist cause, and the pro-Zionist Yiddish press reached approximately one-third of all American Jewish families. The Jewish Agency sponsored two English language press services in Palestine, and in 1945 all but one of the British daily newspapers employed Jewish correspondents in Palestine.[14]

In addition, the insurgents created front organizations or used existing lobbying or fund-raising groups to spread their political message in the United States. Here the Haganah was at a distinct advantage, linked as it was through the Jewish Agency to the WZO. With branches in many countries and representatives of the stature of Chaim Weizmann, the WZO could plead the Zionist case in influential circles while denying any knowledge of, connection with, or support for Haganah violence. The Haganah's channel to the American Jewish community was the Zionist Organization of America (ZOA), which claimed a membership of more than 300,000 in 1945/46.[15] The Irgun had withdrawn from the WZO before the war and, regarded along with the Lechi as dissidents, they were isolated from the mainstream of American Zionism. Nonetheless, through the efforts of Hillel Kook (alias Peter Bergson) the Irgun created ten front organizations in the United States by 1946. The largest of these, the American League for a Free Palestine (ALFP), had a membership of only 35,000. In 1946 the Lechi established its own American front, the Political Action Committee for Palestine.[16]

---

[14] Halperin, p. 257; Begin, pp. 311, 314; Bell, Terror Out of Zion, pp. 179, 305-6; Cairo to Foreign Office, 4 Jan. 1945, FO 371/45376; MOIOPC, Paper 577A, CO 733/465.

[15] Halperin, p. 320.

[16] Washington to Foreign Office, 18 Oct. 1946, FO 371/52562; 'Proclamation on the Palestine Resistance', PM,

Some of these organizations operated on a large scale: in 1943/44 alone the ZOA distributed more than 1,000,000 leaflets and pamphlets to libraries, community centres, editors, journalists, writers and educators. In 1945 ZOA news releases were reprinted in 4,000 newspaper columns.[17] The ALFP ran a continuous newspaper advertisement campaign: from October 1945 through September 1947 the ALFP placed 120 advertisements in American newspapers, of which 81 were in New York papers. The ALFP also conducted a mailing campaign to influential individuals, consisting of at least 21 separate mailings from February 1946 through August 1947. Furthermore, in the United States and Europe the Irgun and the ALFP published The Answer, the Irgun's monthly propaganda magazine.[18] Both inside and outside of Palestine, therefore, the insurgents had substantial propaganda resources at their disposal which they employed to subject Palestine, Britain, Europe and the United States to a sustained propaganda barrage.

In his recent study of revolutionary propaganda Maurice Tugwell has identified the common propaganda themes

---

2 Dec. 1946, FO 371/52571; Halperin, pp. 318-20; Hurewitz, p. 278; Marcia Feinstein, 'The Irgun Campaign in the United States for a Jewish Army', unpublished M.A. thesis, City University of New York, 1973, pp. 46, 101-21, 134, 136, 142, 149-50, 213-4, 219.

[17] Halperin, pp. 257-8, 402. The Jewish Agency's press services issued daily news bulletins throughout the period of the insurgency. The Haganah was not necessarily mentioned in each issue but all served as vehicles for basic Zionist propaganda themes.

[18] 'List of Advertisements: ALFP', 'Mail Campaign: Reference to Scrapbook Entries', Box XIV, f. 9, Palestine Papers; see also Bell, Terror Out of Zion, pp. 305-6. Newspapers published at least 24 full page advertisements and several covering two full pages. The Answer and several other Irgun newspapers were published in several European languages.

employed by insurgent groups.[19] The Jewish insurgents presented many of these themes in a manner which reflected the different strategies of the three organizations. The central theme of the Haganah's and the resistance movement's propaganda was that the White Paper policy was illegal because it violated the terms of the Palestine Mandate and was, therefore, the sole cause of violence in Palestine.[20] This theme legitimized all acts of resistance, particularly those undertaken in support of illegal immigration. Furthermore, it allowed the resistance movement to explain all of its actions in terms of self-defence. In a deposition to the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry the resistance movement claimed that

> Our path is not the path of terror. . . . if there is terrorism in this country, it is terrorism from the authorities. If . . . the British Government sends out reconnaissance planes and destroyers, operates well-equipped radar stations and builds special police posts along the coast, if it uses airborne troops and mobile police to hound out the so called illegal immigrants. . . . then it is terrorism against us. And when we attack these things we do nothing more than defend ourselves against Government terror.[21]

Shlomo Katz, writing for American audiences, developed this theme further by stating that the Haganah had

---

[19] Brigadier M. A. J. Tugwell, 'Revolutionary Propaganda and Possible Counter-Measures', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Department of War Studies, King's College, University of London, 1979, pp. 295-307. Brigadier Tugwell's thesis, the first full length treatment of the subject, is a valuable source on both the theory and the practice of revolutionary propaganda.

[20] Ben Gurion quoted in Shaw to Hall, 24 Aug. 1945, Palcor News Agency Bulletin, 29 Nov. 1945, Cunningham to Hall, 24 Feb. 1946, CO 733/456; Washington to Foreign Office, 26 Sept. 1945, CO 733/461; HQ Palestine, 'Ops Log--Report of Kol Israel broadcast', 20 Feb. 1946, WO 169/23023; Kol Israel broadcast, 3 Mar. 1946, cited in HC[6873], 7, BPP (1946).

[21] Submission by Head of Command, Jewish Resistance Movement, 25 Mar. 1946, CO 733/463.

been forced into the struggle against its will and that British terror was responsible for the close cooperation between the Haganah and the Irgun.[22] As a corollary the resistance movement propagated a second major theme: the futility of British operations against a united national resistance movement. Emphasizing that the British were fighting not just an underground organization but a whole people, this line of argument claimed that the British must do justice to the Jews or destroy them. Continued refusal to meet Zionist demands would only strengthen resistance. Richard Crossman, a pro-Zionist parliamentarian who had served on the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry, lent credibility to this theme when he stated in parliament that the military commanders in the Middle East had expressed doubts about their ability to defeat the resistance movement: 'They said: "Frankly, you can't do it if the whole community is one hundred per cent behind the resistance movement. You can do what you like but you will never get far if it has the support of the people."'[23]

Having thus explained and justified its use of violence in general terms, the resistance movement disseminated a third major propaganda theme, which might be called 'atrocity propaganda'. This theme equated British policies and actions with Nazism and anti-semitism.[24] British activities in Palestine provided the insurgents with many

---

[22] Katz, 'Jewish Resistance', pp. 47-8.

[23] Ibid., p. 49; 'Submission by Head of Command, Jewish Resistance Movement, CO 733/463; Palestine Post, 1 July 1946; Hansard, 5th ser., CLXXIV, 1881; HQ South Palestine District, 'ISUM no. 21, citing Kol Israel broadcast, 7 Jan. 1947', 15 Jan. 1947, WO 261/171; Ben Gurion to Attlee, 18 Mar. 1947, FO 371/61900.

[24] Defence Security Office, 'Monthly Summary no. 3', Dec. 1945, WO 169/19758; 3 Para. Bde., 'ISUM no. 10', 18 Jan. 1946, WO 169/22997.

opportunities to use it. After the riots in Tel Aviv in November 1945 Meyer Levin, an American correspondent, accused the British soldiers of deliberately shooting 20 young children. He claimed that the soldiers had expressed publicly their desire to 'pop off' some children and that they sang the Nazi Horst Wessel while doing so. Levin's initial news report was revived two months later as an article in the American Jewish journal Commentary.[25] Operations AGATHA and SHARK were denounced as Nazi-style pogroms complete with screenings, mass arrests and wanton brutality and destruction. The capture of illegal immigrant ships was described in a like manner.[26]

On several occasions insurgent attacks caused reprisals or other lapses of discipline by members of the security forces and insurgent propagandists were quick to seize upon these as British atrocities.[27] Following the

---

[25] Overseas News Agency, 'Report on Action of British Troops in Tel Aviv', 20 Nov. 1945, FO 371/45386; 'Lullaby for Dying Children', New York Post, 29 Nov. 1945, cited in 'List of Advertisements: ALFP', Palestine Papers; 'The Battle of the Children', Commentary, Jan. 1946, pp. 25-7, cited in Kirk, p. 201.

[26] Kirk, p. 220; Tugwell, pp. 151-2; New York Herald Tribune, 3 July 1946.

[27] Some of the incidents which attracted attention were: alleged anti-semitic remarks by senior British officers; reprisals by soldiers and policemen; and the mysterious bombing of the Jewish Agency press room in March 1947, which the Agency ascribed to the police: Bethell, p. 221; Kirk, p. 204; HQ Palestine, 'FIN no. 8', 17 Feb. 1946, WO 169/23021; article by George L. Cassidy, New York Post, 25 Oct. 1946, cited in Washington to Jerusalem, 25 Oct. 1946, FO 371/52562; Irgun Zvai Leumi, Herut, no. 65, Dec. 1946, CO 537/2365; Jewish Agency for Palestine, 'Political Survey, 1946-1947: Memorandum Submitted to the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine', July 1947; Sumner Welles, 'Terrorism in Palestine', Washington Post, 12 Aug. 1947.

bombing of the King David Hotel General Barker, the GOC, issued a harsh non-fraternization order to the troops. The insurgents quickly published the document, which concluded with an undeniably anti-semitic statement to the effect that by obeying the order the soldiers would be punishing the Jews 'in the way the race dislikes as much as any, namely by striking at their pockets'.[28] The 'Farran Case' provided the insurgents with some of their most credible and dramatic atrocity propaganda. On 6 May 1947 Alexander Rubowitz, a youthful member of the Lechi, was abducted by an unknown assailant while distributing propaganda literature in Jerusalem; he was never seen again. Within a short time suspicion focussed on Captain Farran, who was running covert operations for the police. Accusations appeared in The Palestine Post, and American newspapers reported the rumours that were circulating in Palestine: of fascists in the ranks of the police, and of a secret police counter-terrorist cell operating independently of the police high command. Allegations of police abuses became so pronounced that the government established a special office to handle complaints. Farran then compounded the problem: he fled to Syria and demanded political asylum, thereby turning what had been an internal problem into an international incident. Farran eventually turned himself in for trial, but through the summer American newspapers continued to print lurid stories about the case, implying conspiracy and torture.[29]

Throughout the period the Haganah, in keeping with its strategy, was careful to describe its operations in terms of a 'struggle' and not as acts of war. This was not

---

[28] 'Text of Letter Issued by Lieutenant General Sir Evelyn Barker', CO 537/2291.

[29] David A. Charters, 'Special Operations in Counter-Insurgency: The Farran Case, Palestine 1947', JRUSI, CXXIV (1979), pp. 56, 59.

the case of the Irgun and the Lechi, both of which declared war against Britain early in 1946.[30] After the collapse of the resistance movement they continued to use many of the propaganda themes employed by the Haganah, particularly those referring to British atrocities, but there were also significant differences. The central theme of the Irgun's propaganda, based on its basic political assumptions, was that the Jews possessed the historic title to Palestine and thus had the inalienable right to immigrate freely therein. Implicit in this theme was the idea that the British presence was not just a cause of violence but was inherently and manifestly illegal. It was this illegal occupation of the Jewish homeland that justified the Irgun's war of national liberation.[31] As a corollary, the Irgun's propaganda stated that the group did not recognize the authority of the British administration in Palestine. Members of the Irgun brought to trial for terrorist offences used the proceedings to deny the jurisdiction of the British courts. In July 1947 the Irgun took this idea to its logical conclusion: in reply to British executions of members of the group the Irgun hanged the two sergeants they had kidnapped. The announcement issued to justify the action claimed that an 'underground court' had found the sergeants guilty of the same charges for which the British had executed members of the Irgun.[32]

---

[30] HQ Palestine, 'FIN no. 8', 17 Feb. 1946, WO 169/23021; 1 Inf. Div., 'WIR no. 2', 15 Apr. 1946, WO 169/22956.

[31] 'Irgun Zvai Leumi Speaks to the United Nations--Will There be War or Peace in Palestine', Sept. 1947, pp. 1-5, Box XII, f. 45, Palestine Papers.

[32] Palestine Post, 26 June 1946, giving account of trial of 31 members of the Irgun; Wilson, Cordon and Search, pp. 133-4.

A second major Irgun propaganda theme glorified the armed struggle and especially those members of the Irgun who paid the supreme sacrifice. The evidence suggests that apart from an obvious role in maintaining the internal morale of the Irgun this scheme was designed specifically to gain sympathizers and financial support in the United States. It was probably most highly developed in the ALFP production of Ben Hecht's play 'A Flag is Born'. Described as a 'skillful portrayal of underground heroism' which glamourized the Irgun's leaders, the play had a successful run on Broadway before going on tour to many American cities. Hundreds of congressmen, government officials and foreign diplomats attended the Baltimore performance. The play was more than just a propaganda weapon; the ALFP solicited financial contributions after each performance.[33] Ben Hecht continued to exalt the actions of the Irgun in a dramatic fashion. In May 1947 the New York Herald Tribune and other major American newspapers published an ALFP advertisement entitled 'Letter to the Terrorists of Palestine'. Hecht's 'letter' told the Irgun that

> Every time you blow up a British arsenal, or wreck a British jail, or send a British railroad train sky high, or rob a British bank, or let go with your guns and bombs at the British betrayers and invaders of your homeland, the Jews in America make a little holiday in their hearts.[34]

The letter created a sensation; hundreds of other newspapers reprinted it as news, giving the Irgun an unexpected propaganda bonus.[35] This same heroism theme was

---

[33] Robert John and Sami Hadawi, The Palestine Diary (New York, 1970), II, 98, 152; Robert Silverberg, If I Forget Thee, O Jerusalem: American Jews and the State of Israel (New York, 1970), pp. 323-5; Isaac Zaar, Rescue and Liberation: America's Part in the Birth of Israel (New York, 1954), pp. 193-4.

[34] New York Herald Tribune, 15 May 1947.

[35] Silverberg, pp. 326-7.

employed to equate the Irgun's struggle with that of the Irish and of the Americans. One advertisement stated that 'Your dollars can help a relentless fighting force--built of the same hardy stuff and filled with the same inspiration as those freedom-loving "rebels" of 1776--march on to liberation'.[36] The Irgun and its American front organizations undoubtedly expected that such appeals to American heritage, patriotism and anti-colonialist sentiment would command widespread support.

Brian Jenkins has observed that international terrorism can play a major role in enhancing the image of an insurgent organization. He feels that 'The publicity gained by frightening acts of violence and the atmosphere of fear and alarm created cause people to exaggerate the importance and strength of the terrorists and their movement. Since most terrorist groups are actually small and weak, the violence must be all the more dramatic and deliberately shocking.'[37] This may go some way to explain the Irgun's attack on the British embassy in Rome and the propaganda theme which emerged from it. By October 1946, when the Irgun and the Lechi were trying to increase pressure on Britain, the Jewish Agency had proposed a partition plan and was preparing to denounce terrorism in exchange for the detained Jewish leaders.[38] The Irgun commanders may have concluded that a dramatic show of force, such as an attack on a

---

[36] Quoted in FO 371/61860; see also Statement by Guy Gillette in U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Congressional Record, 79th Congress, 2nd Session (1946), XCII, Appendix 4744.

[37] Brian M. Jenkins, 'International Terrorism: A New Mode of Conflict', in International Terrorism and World Security, ed. David Carlton and Carlo Schaerf (London, 1974), p. 16.

[38] Minutes of Meeting, Sub-Committee--Colonial Office and Jewish Agency, 17 Oct. 1946, FO 371/52562; Cunningham to Creech-Jones, 29 Oct. 1946, FO 371/52563.

British embassy, would demonstrate the strength and determination of the Irgun in relation to the apparent weakness of the Agency and the Haganah. Furthermore, it could convey the impression that the Irgun was stronger and more widespread than it was in fact. The propaganda offensive which followed the bombing in Rome appears to have been directed primarily at Britain. It attempted to convey the image of a widespread all-powerful Irgun. The communiqué accepting responsibility for the attack stated that 'the attack against the British Embassy in Rome is the opening of the military campaign of the Jews in the Diaspora. . . . let every Briton who occupied our country know that the arm of the eternal people will answer with war everywhere and with all available means until our sorrowing country is liberated and its people redeemed'.[39] The Irgun gave the communiqué to American correspondents together with an open letter to the Italian premier explaining the Irgun's case. On 14 November 1946 Samuel Merlin, 'political spokesman' for the Irgun, stated in an interview that

> if the Irgun say they are going to attack Britons outside Palestine they will do so. . . . the bombing of the Rome Embassy was the first step. There will certainly be others. They will carry the war into Britain. Precautions being taken against the arrival of Irgun . . . are therefore futile.[40]

At press conferences in Rome and London in the weeks that followed Johan J. Smertenko, Vice-President of the ALFP, warned that the Irgun might attack British installations anywhere in Europe. In January 1947 Peter Bergson arrived in Paris where, amidst a blaze of publicity, he

---

[39] Irgun Zvai Leumi Communiqué, 2 Nov. 1946, FO 371/60786.

[40] David Briggs, 'British Precautions are Futile', Continental Daily Mail, 14 Nov. 1946, FO 371/52565.

announced his intention to form a provisional government-in-exile.[41]

The Lechi's central propaganda theme was that they were fighting not just for national liberation but also against British imperialism in the Middle East. Two subsidiary themes flowed directly from this one. First, the Lechi claimed that the Jews and the Arabs did not have a valid quarrel. Their communal differences were a product of British imperialism and would disappear after Britain was removed from the area. The Lechi insisted that the liberation of the Jews would benefit the Arabs, so they should join the Jews in a joint struggle against Britain. Secondly, the Lechi argued that the British presence was a threat to the Soviet Union, which desired only security in the region. Neutralization of the Middle East would serve both Jewish and Soviet interests; consequently, the Lechi would gain Soviet sympathy and support for its anti-imperialist struggle.[42] Like the Irgun the Lechi opposed partition, favoured unlimited Jewish immigration into Palestine, and refused to recognize the authority of the British administration. In relation to the latter the Lechi members who were brought to trial went a step further than their Irgun counterparts: they not only rejected the legal jurisdiction of the courts but demanded to be treated as prisoners-of-war, even though they made it equally clear that the Lechi did not consider itself bound by the laws governing conduct in war.[43]

---

[41] His Majesty's Representative, Rome to Secretary General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Italian Government, 27 Nov. 1946; Rome to Foreign Office, 29 Nov. 1946, Foreign Office to Washington, 11 Dec. 1946, FO 371/52571; Paris to Foreign Office, 7 Jan. 1947, FO 371/61751.

[42] Fighters for the Freedom of Israel, 'An Outline of Foreign Policy', Jerusalem, 1947, pp. 9-13, 26-33, 37-40.

[43] Political Action Committee for Palestine to Attlee, 30 Aug. 1946, FO 371/52556; Washington to Foreign

Generally speaking, the insurgents adhered to most of the basic principles of effective propaganda. First, they used it almost solely as an offensive weapon against Britain, forcing the British Government to defend its policies and actions.[44] The insurgents rarely found it necessary to defend their own actions, which they justified a priori by attacking the British presence in Palestine. Secondly, British policy and operations provided sufficient evidence to give factual credibility to insurgent propaganda. The insurgents were free to interpret the facts in the way which best served their objectives. The Irgun had apparently the most credible propaganda: one American correspondent stated that his newspaper had advised him that he could accept the Irgun's statements as fact, but that he should always check the accuracy of statements by the Haganah. Thus, the Irgun was able to portray disastrous operations, such as their attack on Acre prison, as heroic and successful actions.[45] Third, the insurgents did not attempt to prevail against fundamental trends and attitudes; rather, they incorporated them into their propaganda and used them as weapons. Within the Palestinian Jewish community there was general agreement on the desirability of creating an independent Jewish state; the insurgents and their political constituents disagreed only on the question of the social and political shape of the future state.

Office, 18 Oct. 1946, FO 371/52562; Friedman-Yellin, interview with Frank, FO 371/52563; Fighters for the Freedom of Israel, LHI Bulletin, Palestine, Aug. 1947, pp. 19-20, 22, P.P. 1149 mcl., British Library, London; Israel Eldad, The Jewish Revolution: Jewish Statehood (New York, 1971), p. 81.

[44] This is discussed in the second part of this chapter.

[45] Palestine Post, 5 May 1947; 'The Irgun Speaks at Acre', New York Post, 7 May 1947; Bell, Terror Out of Zion, p. 218; Katz, Days of Fire, p. 150.

Insurgent propaganda in the United States appealed to American patriotism and a heritage of anti-British and anti-colonialist sentiment. Finally, the insurgents were skillful propagandists: they usually presented their case quickly, clearly and continuously.

That is not to say that they were flawless propagandists. According to George Kirk, their tactics were inclined to be heavy-handed and patently transparent, especially when addressing American audiences: 'At the most effective moment some incident, comparatively unimportant in itself, would suddenly be taken up, echoed and distorted through scores of publicity channels, and would then be allowed to drop when it had served its purpose.'[46] Moreover, the need to disseminate propaganda to several 'target audiences' produced conflicting messages. Nowhere is this more obvious than in the insurgent propaganda concerning the 'Arab question'. The Lechi called for a joint Jewish-Arab struggle to remove British influence from the Middle East. The Haganah insisted that Jewish claims to Palestine outweighed those of the Arabs. The Irgun denied that the Arabs had any claim to Palestine at all.[47] Christopher Sykes concludes that, in general,

> it became a Zionist habit to speak not only in two but several voices, to run several lines of persuasion at the same time. The result was to debauch the movement with propaganda to an extraordinary extent so that the Zionists, preoccupied with higher truth at the expense of the yet more essential lower truth, got a not undeserved reputation in the world for chronic mendacity.[48]

---

[46] Kirk, p. 204.

[47] Palcor News Agency Bulletin, 29 Nov. 1945, CO 733/456; Fighters for the Freedom of Israel, 'An Outline of Foreign Policy', Jerusalem, 1947, p. 44; 'Irgun Zvai Leumi Speaks to the United Nations', pp. 12-3, Palestine Papers.

[48] Sykes, p. 26.

Tugwell feels, moreover, that there was a tendency for propaganda to lead policy, in violation of one of the basic principles of effective propaganda. It may be fair to suggest that the decision of the WZO congress in December 1946 not to negotiate with the British Government was a product of prevailing extremist propaganda which had declared Britain to be an enemy.[49] Furthermore, insurgent propagandists were inclined on occasion to overplay their hand, the 'La Spezia Affair' being a case in point. In April 1946 Italian police detained on board ship in La Spezia harbour some 1,200 would-be illegal immigrants. The Jews announced a hunger strike and said they would sink the ship in the harbour if not allowed to sail to Palestine. The affair produced a flurry of propaganda in Palestine and one Kol Israel scriptwriter apparently got 'carried away' with enthusiasm: while negotiations were underway to resolve the standoff Kol Israel announced that the ship had sunk with the loss of all aboard.[50] Eitan Haber, a sympathetic biographer, feels that one of Begin's few real mistakes in the propaganda war was the charge sheet which accompanied the hanging of the two sergeants. He thinks that no one could take the charges seriously or justify the 'retroactive and fabricated sentence'.[51]

In order to determine the extent to which propaganda furthered the objectives of the insurgents it is necessary to analyse its effects on the various 'target' audiences. First, it succeeded in maintaining the internal cohesion and commitment of the insurgent groups. The behaviour of the

---

[49] Tugwell, pp. 147-8, 171; Foreign Office, 'WIS', 19 Nov. 1946, 1 Jan. 1947, FO 371/52565, 61761; The Times, 11, 27 Dec. 1946; Hurewitz, pp. 267-9.

[50] HQ Palestine, 'FIN no. 12', 15 Apr. 1946, WO 169/23022.

[51] Haber, p. 189.

insurgents in the courts, in particular their refusal of clemency in the face of the death sentence, was ample testament to high morale--the product of successful 'integration' propaganda. The police experienced great difficulty in penetrating the insurgent groups themselves and there were few informers. Captured insurgents rarely 'cracked' under interrogation.[52] This sense of loyalty and commitment extended to the Jewish population as a whole. Although many disapproved of terrorism, they refused to cooperate with the security forces in apprehending the insurgents. Instead they either treated the security forces with undisguised hostility or, as one writer graphically recounts, ignored them:

> Soldiers walk about the streets. . . . But nobody says a word to them. People pass by them as if they did not exist. Military vehicles pass in the streets. . . . Like the armed soldiers and the ever-present barbed wire, they, too, are ignored. Two different worlds seem to coexist here, the military and the civilian, and each appears to disregard the other.[53]

Consequently, the insurgents were able to operate virtually with impunity.

Secondly, the evidence seems to suggest that despite the profusion of conflicting viewpoints insurgent propaganda succeeded in neutralizing the Palestinian Arabs while the Jews attempted to remove Britain from Palestine. The Arabs did not interfere with the insurgent campaign against the British; in fact, the Lechi claims to have had some Arab members.[54] Through most of the period under study the Arabs

---

[52] Churchill expressed admiration for the fortitude of Dov Gruner, an Irgun member who refused to appeal for clemency in Jan. 1947: Churchill, Complete Speeches, pp. 7422-3; see also Begin, pp. 97-103; Bell, Terror Out of Zion, pp. 182; Briance, interview; Catling, interview.

[53] Shlomo Katz, 'Curfew in Jerusalem', Commentary, II (1946), 529.

[54] The Arabs even concealed a senior Jewish official

confined their activities to organizing their opposition to the Jews; they became actively involved in the conflict only when, in August 1947, it became apparent that a British withdrawal and the partition of Palestine were likely.

Third, insurgent propaganda achieved a measure of success in the United States.. The Truman administration never wavered from its basically pro-Zionist stance, although it is difficult to know for certain to what extent this was a result of Zionist propaganda. The ZOA's financial contributions to Palestine's Jewish community quadrupled between 1945 and 1947. The ZOA leadership supported the militant view at the WZO Congress in December 1946 and the president of the ZOA publically endorsed a Revisionist boycott of British goods in New York in March 1947. The Irgun increased substantially its American support, owing chiefly to Peter Bergson's energetic propaganda campaign. By the summer of 1947 the ALFP claimed a membership of 140,000 and a budget of $7,500,000.[55] Nevertheless, the insurgents may have overplayed the propaganda in the United States; there were indications in 1947 that it might be losing its appeal. In April the Palestine Resistance Committee, a coalition of ten Irgun front organizations, was dissolved because it had failed to raise sufficient funds. The ALFP then took over as the sole fund-raising organization. The British Ambassador suggested that Hecht's 'Letter to the Terrorists' was in fact an attack on the indifference of American Jews to the Irgun's struggle, as

---

to prevent his arrest during Operation AGATHA: Gale, interview; see also Brenner, p. 13.

[55] American Jewish contributions to the two largest funds--the Jewish National Fund and the Palestine Foundation Fund--increased from almost $15,000,000 in 1945 to more than $59,000,000 in 1947: Halperin, pp. 325-6; see also New York Times, 24 Mar. 1947; Foreign Office, 'Illegal Jewish Immigration, Theory and Practice', 6 Aug. 1947, FO 371/61860.

indicated by the failure of the Palestine Resistance Committee. And while American Newspapers continued to report the deteriorating situation in Palestine, some commentators began to question the American role in the dispute. The Christian Science Monitor went so far as to suggest that President Truman had been unduly influenced by minority pressure groups. In any case, British diplomats perceived growing sympathy for the difficulties facing the British people coupled with concern that Britain might be forced to abandon its commitments, leaving a power vacuum in crucial areas, the Middle East among them. They noted with satisfaction that in 1947 the Congressional Record devoted little space to the Palestine issue.[56]

Finally, it remains more difficult to assess the effects of insurgent propaganda on the British. On the one hand, 'Black' propaganda aimed at the security forces apparently elicited no response, and other forms of harassment and abuse just made them angry. After all, once they were being killed in steadily increasing numbers the soldiers could not be expected to accept the insurgent propaganda line that the Jews had no quarrel with them but only with the British Government.[57] On the other hand, the Irgun had every reason to be satisfied with the psychological impact of the bombing in Rome and the ensuing propaganda campaign. The apparent ease with which the Irgun's supporters travelled around Europe created an atmosphere of anxiety in Britain. Unaware that the Irgun had few

---

[56] Washington to Foreign Office, 15 Apr. 1947, FO 371/61753; Foreign Office, 'Memorandum on Jewish Affairs in the United States', June 1947, FO 371/61756.

[57] 3 Para. Bde., 'ISUM no. 2', 21 Nov. 1945, WO 169/19705; HQ Palestine, 'Ops Log', 9 Dec. 1945, WO 169/19745; Astor to Hall, 7 Mar. 1946, CO 733/456; 3 Field Security Section, 'Security Report for Week Ending 11 May 1946', WO 169/24120; Minutes of Security Conference, 11 July 1947; Cunningham Papers; Wilson, Cordon and Search, p. 110.

sympathizers and no organization in Britain, the London tabloid headlines proclaimed 'Irgun Threatens London'. The security services increased the protection of government buildings and took special precautions for the opening of Parliament.[58] Although some British newspapers had concluded by March 1947 that Britain was losing the battle for the control of Palestine, it is not readily apparent that insurgent propaganda had any effect on British policy and decision-making. Creech-Jones said later that he recognized that Jewish propaganda attempted to 'maximize the trouble and difficulty' for the British Government. He states that the immigration and security issues became 'irresistable', but believes that Bevin felt constrained to maintain his course of action, in spite of the personal attacks on himself.[59] Tugwell, in fact, feels that the extremism of the Irgun and the Lechi soured British opinion and turned a 'reservoir of goodwill' into hostility, a fact he regards as 'a singular failure of Zionist strategy'.[60] In summary then, it might be fair to suggest that insurgent propaganda strengthened the hand of those in the British Government who wanted to take a tougher line against terrorism.

---

[58] The News Chronicle, 9 Nov. 1946, Box 1, 15/5/24, Liddell Hart Papers; The Times, 12, 15 Nov. 1946; Irgun Zvai Leumi, Herut, no. 65, Dec. 1946, CO 537/2365; Washington Daily News, 13 Nov. 1946, cited in Zaar, p. 212; Katz, Days of Fire, pp. 103-5; Monte Harris to author, 18 Feb. 1978. The Lechi later sent letter bombs and assassination squads to Britain: Avner, pp. 19-20, 110-6, 125-50.

[59] 'Govern or Get Out', Sunday Express, 2 Mar. 1947, cited in Bell, Terror Out of Zion, p. 190; Eric Grey, 'Even Guns Didn't Make Them Talk', Daily Express, 27 Mar. 1947, Box 1, 15/5/24, Liddell Hart Papers; Creech-Jones to Monroe, 23 Oct. 1961, Monroe Papers; see also Chapters II, VIII.

[60] Tugwell, p. 148.

British Propaganda

From the earliest years of the Mandate the Palestine Government had recognized the influential and, at times, inflammatory role of the press in Palestine politics. At first the government attempted to restrict the information available to the public, and until 1927 the CID controlled the press. In 1928, however, the administration decided that it could play a role in influencing public opinion and so established a press bureau in the Secretariat. In 1938 it became the Public Information Office (PIO).[61] By the end of the war the Palestine Government was convinced that

> information services had become a normal function of Government and the special conditions of Palestine made it more than ever necessary that every effort should be made to develop and maintain good relations between the Government and the public and, in particular, the press.[62]

The PIO performed a dual role: first, public relations, by serving as the link between the Government and the population; and secondly, propaganda, to help maintain internal security and to promote the war effort. It fulfilled this dual role by the following means. First, the PIO conducted a sustained public information campaign through the distribution of publications and government information in all three languages, mobile cinema vans, and reading rooms in Tel Aviv and Jaffa. Secondly, the Office arranged press conferences: weekly for the Public Information Officer and monthly for the Chief Secretary of the Government. Third, the PIO served as distribution agent for the British Ministry of Information (MOI). Fourth, it provided press facilities, including the issuing of press cards

---

[61] MOIOPC, Paper 577A, and Christopher Holme, 'Note of a Talk given by the PIO Jerusalem on British Publicity in Palestine and its Relation to the Other Functions of Government', 13 Mar. 1945, CO 733/465; Government of Palestine, Survey of Palestine, II, 875-6; see also Appendix I.

[62] Government of Palestine, Survey of Palestine, II, 877.

and a press service relying mainly on Reuters, the MOI and the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). The PIO also prepared news broadcasts and provided maps and photographs for local newspapers. Finally, it administered press legislation, newspaper rationing, and (during the war) censorship.[63] For presenting its case overseas the Palestine Government could rely upon the MOI in London, and the British Information Service (BIS) whose staff served in British embassies and consulates. Thus, by all appearances, the Palestine Government had all the resources necessary for a counter-insurgency propaganda campaign.

The Palestine Government suffered, however, grave limitations in the propaganda field. Resource problems plagued the PIO. First, it appears that the director (the Public Information Officer) did not work well with his own staff, with the Middle East Section of the MOI or with some of the press, to whom he referred on one occasion as 'that lot of bastards'. The MOI, however, did not feel it could remove him without a major showdown with the Palestine Government.[64] Secondly, while there were different opinions as to the amount of propaganda necessary, one official noted that the Tel Aviv campaign in particular was mismanaged and inappropriate. He also noted that there was a 'total lack of experienced publicity men'.[65] The third problem concerned post-war reorganization and reductions. The MOI carried 85 per cent of the cost of the PIO and at the end of

---

[63] Ibid., I, 121, II, 874-8, 930; MOIOPC, Paper 577A, CO 733/465; 1 Inf. Div., 'Report on Operation ELEPHANT', p. 101, Moore Papers. On 31 Oct. 1945 censorship was transferred to a separate office of the Palestine Government Secretariat.

[64] O'Donovan to Davies, 16 Apr. 1944, Ryan to Monroe, 14 June 1944, Monroe to Woodburn, 7 July 1944, INF 1/419.

[65] Ryan to Monroe, 14 June 1944, INF 1/419.

the war the British Government wanted to reduce this burden. Between June and December 1945 budgets and establishment proposals were constantly revised and reduced. By December the MOI had fixed the proposed reductions at about 30 per cent. The estimated budget for 1946/47 was reduced by as much again. The PIO staff, diminished by vacancies to 109 persons out of an establishment of 133, was to be run down to 65 by March 1946. The PIO cancelled two heavily subsidized Government newspapers. The reading centre in Tel Aviv, though apparently successful as a means of reaching the Jewish population, was to be reduced in scale. Those in Haifa and Jaffa received funds for only a further six months and the proposal for a centre in Jerusalem was scrapped altogether.[66]

The MOI itself underwent substantial change at this time. Eager to bring information expenditure into line with overall government spending, the Labour Government announced in December 1945 that it would replace the MOI in 1946 with a non-ministerial Central Office of Information (COI). The COI was to provide information, material, and publicity advice and services for government departments at home and abroad. Unlike the MOI, however, it was not responsible for governmental or departmental information policy and was not specifically represented by one minister at Cabinet level.[67] Moreover, the change in approach to information services may

---

[66] MOIOPC, Paper 575A, 'Plan of Propaganda for Palestine: Second Revision of Appreciation', 2 June 1945, and MOIOPC, Paper 577A, CO 733/465; MOI, 'Aide-Memoire of Meeting to Discuss Reduction of Palestine Budget', 18/19 June 1945, INF 1/419; MOI to Eastwood, 21 June 1945, Ryan to MOI, 13 Aug. 1945, Finance Officer MOI Middle East to MOI, 30 Aug. 1945, MOI, 'Palestine Budget, 1945/46', 4 Dec. 1945, INF 1/430. Budget: 1945/46 (original) £97,668; (revised) £66,507; (minus revenue) £51,807; 1946/47 (estimate) £46,837.

[67] 'Post-war Activities of Ministry of Information 1945-March 1946', INF 1/943.

have produced changes in personnel. Sir Robert Bruce Lockhart noted that with post-war reorganization the MOI's policy found propagandists unsuited by temperment and training for the more sober post-war publicity.[68] Sir Robert did not indicate, however, whether experienced propagandists left the MOI at that time.

At a time when insurgent propaganda was commencing a major offensive against the British and Palestine Governments these changes and reductions could only make the government's propaganda task more difficult. There is, however, no evidence to indicate whether the Palestine Government or the PIO objected to these reductions, at least at the time. In September 1946, at the urging of the GOC the Palestine Government initiated a search for a psychological warfare officer to conduct counter-propaganda. Apparently, however, the position was never filled.[69] In Palestine, the government and the army concerned themselves mainly with technical rather than policy aspects of handling information. The High Commissioner, concerned about being unable to prevent inaccurate news reports outside Palestine, proposed that the PIO give to local correspondents informal preliminary 'handouts' giving the first confirmed news of any incident. The PIO could send these to the MOI as well to brief the British press. The Colonial Secretary agreed in principle, but the MOI decided not to distribute them to the press or to the BBC. Instead, the MOI proposed that they be sent to the Colonial Office, who would pass them to the MOI. The BBC would be encouraged to check with the Colonial Office to verify the accuracy of its reports. The High Commissioner agreed, but was disappointed that the British press would not receive the handouts since he had

---

[68] Lockhart, p. 339.

[69] Minutes of Security Conference, 25, 27 Sept. 1946, Cunningham Papers; Pawle, interview, 18 May 1978.

felt they might have a calming effect. At the same time, however, the MOI expressed concern that the PIO had decided, for reasons of economy, to discontinue the quarterly report and appreciation which the MOI had used to brief British and American journalists. The Colonial Office rectified the situation by providing the MOI with copies of the monthly situation telegram.[70]

Propaganda was a relatively new weapon in so far as the British Army was concerned. As noted earlier, 'Notes for Officers on Internal Security Duties' did not cover psychological warfare and thus such arrangements as were made tended to be ad hoc and defensive. The army did not feel responsible for attacking the assumptions, claims, and methods of the insurgent propagandists. Generally speaking, the army responded to propaganda by attempting to protect its own integrity. First, the army attempted to deny the insurgents material with which to make propaganda. Formation commanders explained to their troops the aims and effects of propaganda. They told them to set aside preconceived notions and prejudices and to treat Arabs and Jews equally and without malice. Consistent with the principle of minimum force, commanders urged their soldiers to avoid unnecessary provocation or embarrassment in search operations and to handle carefully incidents involving illegal immigrants. They were to avoid initiating incidents such as reprisals, which were likely to cause press comment, and above all, they should not lose their 'sense of proportion'.[71]

---

[70] Gort to Hall, 12 Oct. 1945, FO 371/45381; Hall to Gort, 18 Oct. 1945, Gort to Hall, 26 Oct. 1945, FO 371/45383; Driberg to Eastwood, 16, 26 Oct. 1945, Eastwood to Driberg, 7 Nov. 1945, Gutch to Eastwood, 21 Nov. 1945, CO 733/465.

[71] 'Notes for Officers on Internal Security Duties'; 1 Inf. Div., 'Divisional Commander's Directive no. 1', Nov. 1945, WO 169/19656; 3 Para. Bde., 'Training Instruction no. 1', (undated), 'Notes on Cordon Check Searches', 16 Oct. 1945, 'ISUM no. 2, 3', 21, 28 Nov. 1945, WO 169/19705; 6

Secondly, the army encouraged good relations with the press. The security forces gave all possible assistance to the accredited correspondents consistent with safety and operational security. Public relations officers were appointed to sector, brigade, and divisional headquarters to assist the press. Correspondents were permitted to move freely through curfew and restricted areas and to accompany the troops on operations. They were allowed on several occasions to visit internment camps.[72] Third, the army attempted to 'manage' news coverage of events in Palestine. Army instructions emphasized the need for speed and accuracy in passing of information; it was essential to 'beat Reuters' in order to prevent or correct inaccurate news reports.[73] One staff officer suggested that the army should try to influence reporting by providing the press (via the PIO) with information before the insurgents did. He felt that

> It is the first "hot news" that captures the headlines. . . . They will use the first story they get. . . . Our object must be, therefore, to provide the material basis of a story within a few minutes of the start of an incident. . . . It should usually be possible for this HQ to produce a story for the PIO of what is happening . . . sufficient to give the right angle to the story.[74]

Airlanding Bde., 'Notes on Confirmation of Brigade Commander's Conference', 11 Oct. 1945, WO 169/19706: 2 Inf. Bde., 'IS Appreciation', 24 Oct. 1945, WO 169/19699; HQ Palestine, 'OI no. 67', 17 June 1946, WO 169/23022; Wilson, Cordon and Search, pp. 19-20.

[72] HQ Palestine, 'OI no. 56--Press', 31 Dec. 1945, WO 169/19745; 1 Inf. Div., 'Report on Operation ELEPHANT', pp. 102-5; 1 Armoured Division, 'IS Instruction no. 4', 6 June 1947, WO 261/178; 1 Inf. Div., 'Report on Operation TIGER', WO 261/181; Farrar-Hockley, interview, 13 Sept. 1976.

[73] 6 AB Div., 'OI no. 4--Passing of Information', 17 Oct. 1945, WO 169/19685; HQ Palestine, 'Lessons From Ops 25/26 Nov. 1945', 7 Dec. 1945, WO 169/19745.

[74] 1 Inf. Div., 'Publicity', 8 May 1946, WO 169/22957.

Until 1947 officers were forbidden to give interviews to the press. It was decided then that the senior military commander on the scene of an operation could give an interview or answer questions from the press. Officers concerned were encouraged to give the fullest possible account of the operations, but were to confine their remarks to statements of fact that the correspondents could check; they were not to comment on policy or express opinions. It was not until August 1947, however, that the Central security committee decided that the PIO should colour its reporting by emphasizing successful security force operations.[75] Finally, the security forces tried to jam or locate and capture the insurgents' illegal radio stations. In January and February 1946 army radio direction-finding units fixed the location of Kol Israel on several occasions, but troops and police who converged on the sites never captured the transmitter or its crew. They did, however, locate and seize the Lechi radio station and its staff in Tel Aviv. Begin claims the Irgun's station was never silenced.[76]

Propaganda policy was decided at several levels which were not cooperating with each other fully. In June 1945 the MOI Overseas Planning Committee established the aims and objectives of its propaganda plan for Palestine. The aims were to maintain internal security in Palestine and to create an atmosphere conducive to a settlement of the problem by promoting good relations between the British, the

---

[75] HQ Palestine, 'OI no. 56--Press', WO 169/19745; 3 Para. Bde., 'OI no. 38--Appendix: Relations with Press', 30 Apr. 1947, WO 261/219; Minutes of Security Conference, 22 Aug. 1947, Cunningham Papers.

[76] HQ Palestine, war diary, Feb. 1946, WO 169/23021; 8 Battalion, Para. Regt., war diary, Jan.-Feb. 1946, WO 169/23228; Minutes of Security Conference, 20 Dec. 1946, 21 Mar. 1947, Cunningham Papers; Begin, pp. 82-3. Available evidence gives no conclusive indication of the success or failure of jamming.

Arabs, and the Jews. The objectives were to continue to emphasize the war effort while publicizing British achievements and difficulties. An annex to the appreciation noted that while it was undesirable to push separate propaganda lines to the Jews and the Arabs, different approaches were necessary. Propaganda to the Jews would have to convince them that the British Government cared about their fate; both communities, however, would have to be reminded constantly of Britain's obligations under the Mandate.[77] It was not sufficient, of course, to deal with the problem solely within Palestine; the British Government tried to counteract insurgent propaganda overseas, particularly in the United States. The campaign, which was largely defensive and low-key, began at the end of November 1945 when the High Commissioner complained to London about the flood of propaganda concerning the search at Givat Hayim. He felt that both British policy and the internal situation in Palestine would suffer unless vigorous steps were taken to deal with the propaganda. Cunningham's views were passed to Washington but the British Ambassador, Lord Halifax, did not appear to take the problem seriously. He felt that misrepresentations were not widespread and that the few newspapers which had violently distorted facts were, in any case, incorrigible. On the occasion of any future incidents he stated that the embassy would issue an appropriate communique through the BIS. Moreover, the embassy and the BIS would continue to give information privately to press and radio commentators in order to put across the British view of operations in Palestine. In the case of Givat Hayim, however, British reports from the scene varied considerably

---

[77] MOIOPC, 'Plan of Propaganda for Palestine: Second Revision of Aims and Objectives', Paper 576A, 1 June 1945, CO 733/465; MOIOPC, 'Plan of Propaganda for Palestine: Second Revision of Appreciation', Paper 575B, 2 June 1945, INF 1/943.

on crucial details. Insurgent propaganda thus scored a significant victory when the British Government accepted the Zionist version of events despite some obvious inconsistencies.[78]

There was a brief change in policy in May 1946: following the car park murders in Tel Aviv the Foreign Office urged the Washington embassy to 'move from the defence to the attack' by using reports of such incidents as the basis for a propaganda offensive.[79] In principle this probably made sense, but in practice official British statements would carry little weight amongst Britain's American critics. Moreover, in this specific case it was already too late by at least a fortnight. Insurgent propagandists had turned a potential disaster for the resistance movement into an embarrassment for the British by skillfully exploiting British excesses in response to the murders: the divisional commander's public rebuke to the Mayor of Tel Aviv and the brief reprisal by British troops against a Jewish settlement. Any propaganda advantage the British might have gained from the Lechi attack vanished as the Jewish press castigated General Cassels, linking his attitude to the reprisals. General Cassels himself later conceded that he had achieved nothing by his public statement 'except more British press adverse comments and a spate of letters from American Jews'.[80] So the Foreign Office directive was not

---

[78] 3 Inf. Bde., 'Report of Incidents', 26 Nov. 1945, 'Confidential Message', 27 Nov. 1945, WO 169/19703; 3 Para. Bde., 'ISUM no. 3', 28 Nov. 1945, WO 169/19705; Cunningham to Hall, 28 Nov. 1945, Colonial Office to Washington, Washington to Foreign Office, 30 Nov. 1945, Hall to Levy, 10 Jan. 1946, CO 733/456.

[79] Foreign Office to Washington, 9 May 1946, CO 733/456.

[80] Hurewitz, pp. 243, 353-4 note 15; Field Marshal Sir James Cassels to author, 27 Nov. 1976; see also Chapter VI.

only too late; it was completely out of touch with the realities of the propaganda war.

Following Operation AGATHA in June 1946 the British Ambassador, now Lord Inverchapel, felt that the principle British propaganda aim in America should be 'to remove the Palestine issue from the headlines' by allowing the current agitation to subside and by refraining from further public statements. He did, however, favour continued efforts by BIS to influence the American press.[81] Through 1946/47 British diplomats also protested, without success, to the State Department about advertisements soliciting funds for the insurgents. The Foreign Office, however, criticized the embassy for not pressing the issue with sufficient vigour. Commenting on memorandum sent to the State Department in December 1946, one official said,

> This is a lamentably weak document. One would have thought that as three previous protests have gone unanswered, we could, without really upsetting Anglo-American relations, point out that the financing of rebellion on the territory of a friendly power was just the least bit steep?[82]

The British did not ask for suppression of the advertising; they tried instead to persuade the American Government to remove the tax exempt status of contributions to the organizations concerned. By September 1947 the issue was still unresolved and all that British persistence had achieved was a statement from the Truman administration asking Americans not to engage in activities likely to cause violence in Palestine.[83] At the embassy's request the Foreign Office

---

[81] Washington to Foreign Office, 12 July 1946, FO 371/52538.

[82] 'Aide-Memoire to State Department', 5 Dec. 1946, and comments by Harold Beeley, F.B.A. Rundall, FO 371/61765.

[83] Washington to Foreign Office, 28 Jan. 1947, CO 537/2312; Foreign Office to Washington, 21 May 1947, FO 371/61759; see also FO 371/61757; Joseph Schechtman, The United States and the Jewish State Movement (New York, 1966), p. 195.

attempted to keep them informed of British plans for Palestine, to enable the officials in Washington to anticipate and respond effectively to criticism. Even so, certain limitations may have hampered the efforts of British diplomats in America to present their case effectively. In February 1947 the embassy felt that British officials had been misquoted on several occasions and thus decided that they should not speak in public on the Palestine issue; consequently, numerous invitations to do so were refused. The Foreign Office disagreed with this policy, pointing out that

> it seems to be an unfortunate development at a time when the other interested parties must be intensifying their propaganda. . . . it seems to be more than ever necessary that misrepresentations of British policy should be answered as effectively as possible.[84]

The embassy insisted, however, that its staff and the BIS were more effective in putting the British case personally, in letters to and conversations with influential persons. The ambassador lifted the ban on public speaking in April but by August even the embassy staff had come to doubt the value of their propaganda techniques. They concluded that insurgent propaganda was effective and wondered if they were doing enough to counter it. They could not afford to place full page newspaper advertisements like those of the ALFP; conversations and replies to letters were valuable, but they only reached a few people; briefing correspondents was effective, but by this time many American newspapers were reluctant to print anything that sounded pro-British. The embassy requested more information on Palestine, including statistics on terrorist incidents, casualties, and illegal

---

[84] Washington to Foreign Office, 3 Feb. 1947, Washington to Foreign Office, 8 Feb. 1947, FO 371/61765; Washington to Foreign Office, 16 Apr. 1947, FO 371/61773; see also FO 371/61860.

immigration but did not receive a reply until September 1947.[85]

Propaganda counter-measures directed at the British audience showed even less drive or imagination than efforts in America. It may be fair to suggest that once British soldiers were being killed such measures were unnecessary because the British population tended to sympathize with the army in such difficult circumstances. Nonetheless, the Palestine Government and the army attempted to correct or forestall what they considered misleading or sensationalist accounts in British newspapers. The High Commissioner's view, however, that an eyewitness account of events by a senior British officer would provide 'an adequate rejoinder to wilful distortions' suggests a certain naiveté on his part, since critics would not find such an account unbiased. The British Government made statements in the House of Commons, either in reply to questions or on the occasion of major developments, such as Operation AGATHA in June 1946. In July 1946 the government published a White Paper on terrorism which provided evidence implicating the Jewish Agency in the resistance movement.[86] The Foreign Office, with the assistance of Passport Control, the security service and the Palestine Government, made a concerted effort to harrass and keep under surveillance the ALFP's European representatives. After his speeches in London and Rome Smertenko was denied re-entry into Britain. Peter Bergson's Palestinian citizenship was revoked and the British

---

[85] Washington to Foreign Office, 16 Apr. 1947, FO 371/61773; Washington to Foreign Office, 6 Aug. 1947, FO 371/61784.

[86] Cunningham to Hall, 30 Nov. 1945, FO 371/45387; GHQ Middle East Forces to War Office, 4 Jan. 1946, WO 169/22881; Hansard, 5th ser., CLXXIV, 1805-10; HC[6873], BPP (1946); Minutes of Security Conference, 6 June 1947, Cunningham Papers; Cunningham to Creech-Jones, 7 Aug. 1947, FO 371/61784.

Government persuaded the Italian Government to suppress La Riposta, the ALFP's propaganda magazine.[87]

During the period 1945/47 the British and Palestine governments conducted only one well-organized and effective propaganda campaign: a recruiting campaign for the Palestine Police. At the end of November 1945 the Chief Secretary suggested that the existing recruiting campaign--then confined to the armed forces and not producing the desired results--be expanded to include the general public, using all the methods of modern publicity. The Colonial Office approved the idea in principle in January 1946, but there was considerable reluctance to begin the campaign at that time. The government did not want to attract too much attention to the Palestine problem, nor did it wish to introduce too many men into the force rapidly without providing adequate training. Furthermore, as noted earlier, the government felt that the army would be responsible for controlling major disorder in Palestine, so police manpower was not regarded in London as an urgent problem.[88] In June 1946, however, the deteriorating situation in Palestine and a shortage of 3,000 policemen forced the government to act. A two-month publicity campaign prepared by the Palestine Government began in June. The Colonial Office, the War Office, and the COI assisted the Palestine Government in securing advertising space, even at the expense of recruiting for the armed forces. The campaign commenced in early June with advertisements in 40 provincial newspapers. Later this expanded to 80, supplemented by letters to 1,350 headmasters

---

[87] See correspondence relating to Bergson and Smertenko in FO 371/52571, 61751; see also Rome to Foreign Office, 26 June 1947, FO 371/67813B; Rome to Foreign Office, 22 Aug. 1947, CO 537/2289.

[88] Shaw to Eastwood, 26 Nov. 1945, Trafford-Smith, 'Note Following Meeting on Recruiting', 11 Jan. 1946, Martin to Gater, 7 May 1946, CO 733/451.

of public and secondary schools and a recruiting slide presented at 400 cinemas and 50 theatres. The campaign was renewed in September and November 1946 and again in January 1947; by that time it included national Sunday newspapers and some national magazines.[89] The recruitment propaganda, which was produced originally in 1945, was criticized for not telling the whole truth about service in the police: it stressed the reputation of the force as a 'body of picked men' chosen for their high standards of character, education and physical fitness; it said nothing about the dangers, the fact that effective training had all but ceased, and problems such as equipment shortages.[90] Nonetheless, the recruiting campaign was a major success. The first week of advertising produced 2,000 inquiries and by the end of September the Colonial Office had received some 6,000 applications. The large majority were rejected for a variety of reasons, but the monthly intake of recruits increased steadily: from 62 in June 1946 to a peak of 395 in December, by which time more than 1,200 recruits had been selected and intake to the force had outstripped wastage. Enquiries and applications continued to increase until July 1947.[91]

The success of this campaign contrasts sharply with the overall British approach to propaganda and highlights

---

[89] Home Information Services (Official) Committee, Minutes of Meeting, 19 June 1946, Gater to Cunningham, 26 June 1946, Mather and Crowther Limited, 'Interim Report on Palestine Police Recruiting Campaign', 9 July 1946, and Colonial Office, 'Memorandum on Recruitment Campaign for Palestine Police', Nov. 1946, CO 733/451.

[90] Colonial Office, 'The Palestine Police Force', 18, 25 June 1945; Daily Mail, 10 Dec. 1946.

[91] Gater to Cunningham, 26 June 1946, Mather and Crowther, 'Interim Report', Colonial Office, 'Memorandum on Recruitment', CO 733/451; Mather and Crowther to Trafford Smith, 17 Mar. 1947, and correspondence relating to monthly recruiting figures, Apr. to Aug. 1947, CO 537/2268; Minutes of Security Conference, 6 Nov. 1946, Cunningham Papers.

obvious weaknesses in British propaganda policy. First, unlike the insurgents, the British Government (and thus by implication the Palestine Government) did not have a political programme upon which to build a propaganda campaign. As early as June 1945 the Overseas Planning Committee observed that 'Until H.M.G. makes a new declaration of policy with regard to Palestine, it is undesirable that our publicity should attempt to cover future developments'.[92] In the autumn of 1946 Harold Beeley observed further that the only effective forms of counter-propaganda would be a conclusive policy decision on Palestine and an Arab effort to publicize their own case.[93] In short, the British had nothing with which to challenge the basic assumptions of insurgent propaganda. Moreover, the British Government itself accepted some of the Zionist claims; differences were over interpretation and degree. Propaganda scarcely can be effective if it is reduced to 'splitting hairs' on fine points of interpretation. The government's failure to renounce totally the White Paper policy, in any case, left the British position open to attack in propaganda terms. Consequently, the British tended to use propaganda defensively, leaving the initiative with the insurgents.

Secondly, without a policy there were no clear propaganda objectives; those established in 1945 were inadequate and were never revised. The British could not win simultaneously the support of Arabs and Jews, who were not in the least interested in Britain's achievements and difficulties. British propaganda, therefore, could not promote good relations between the various parties, nor could it contribute to producing internal security. Moreover, those objectives, prepared with a continuation of the

---

[92] MOIOPC, Paper 576A, CO 733/465.

[93] Harold Beeley, note of file, 15 Oct. 1946, FO 371/52561.

world war in mind and before the insurgents launched their offensive, appear in retrospect inappropriate. Effective propaganda seems to require a wartime adversary relationship and a concept of ultimate victory, but internal security was not a combat role and did not include a concept of victory. The objective of the security forces was to maintain 'law and order'; this precluded the development of the kind of propaganda themes which could prevail against propaganda that labelled Britain as the enemy. Any attempt to use such an approach would have left the British open to charges of anti-semitism, which were frequent enough as it was.

The third problem was that the British Government suffered from a 'credibility gap'. The Jewish population of Palestine and Britain's critics in America regarded as suspect anything the British Government said. John Kimche blamed the British press for official and public ignorance in Britain of the realities of Palestine and for encouraging the army and administration to pursue a futile course. He claimed that as early as 1946 British reporting consisted of 'political warfare of the crudest kind, involving misrepresentation, distortion, suppression, and invention'.[94] The insurgents went further, accusing the British press of being partisan 'patsys of the CID'.[95] Some of the criticism was justified: as noted earlier, some British newspapers tended to sensationalize reporting of events in Palestine. The Palestine Government tried to deal with that problem by means of censorship, but that only aggravated the situation. The government insisted that it censored only those items likely to have a detrimental effect on the local security situation, and vehemently denied that censorship was used

---

[94] Kimche, Seven Fallen Pillars, pp. 188-9.

[95] Fighters for the Freedom of Israel, LHI Bulletin, pp. 12-3.

to stifle legitimate criticism. Critics, however, felt that censorship, 'so far from serving its intended purpose of pacification, is by concealments and distortions positively manufacturing the ignorance on which suspicions and disorder breed in Palestine'.[96] The governments in London and Jerusalem were scarcely shielded from criticism, but there is no question that the Palestine Government used the power to censor widely and any form of censorship, however expedient, was undesirable. There is no evidence to show that it contributed to a decline in violence, and it lent credibility to insurgent claims that the government was trying to suppress the 'truth' about Palestine. In short, it simply provided the insurgents with another British weapon that could be turned against the British themselves and, therefore, undermined British legitimacy while enhancing that of the insurgents.

The fourth weakness was in resources. The changes and reductions at the MOI and the PIO left British propaganda without central direction; the governments in both London and Jerusalem had to fend for themselves. While Westminster could count on at least The Daily Telegraph to support a tough policy against terrorism, the press in Palestine was without exception hostile to the government. Richard Graves, Mayor of Jerusalem in 1947/48, felt that the Palestine Government was severely hampered in not having a press of its own. Its only means of answering criticism was by austere communiqués, in papers already slanted against the government, which could hardly be expected to win many converts. He concluded that the government should have

---

[96] Cunningham to Hall, 29 June 1946, FO 371/52534; Cunningham to Creech-Jones, 13 Dec. 1946, 'Bad Tempered Censorship', Evening Standard, 25 Nov. 1946, 'Press Censorship', The Times, 6 Jan. 1947, 'Palestine Bans "Iron Hand" News', Daily Graphic, 6 Jan. 1947, Cunningham to Creech-Jones, 10 Jan. 1947, CO 537/2289; 1 Inf. Div., 'Report on Operation ELEPHANT', pp. 101-3, Moore Papers.

subsidized long before an English language newspaper and given it a free hand to criticize as well as a general mandate to support the government. Such a paper would have been able to launch counter-attacks against criticism in the local papers.[97] Although it may be correct in theory, Graves' view seems unduly optimistic. Under the circumstances prevailing it is hard to see how such a paper could have overcome the credibility gap perceived by the Jews.

Finally, the army's inexperience in handling public relations caused some difficulties. It is apparent that despite all good intentions army/press relations were less than satisfactory. British correspondents complained of being 'held up, searched, and refused admittance to places where, with their passes, they have every right to go'.[98] If this was the case it is hardly surprising that the security forces had few defenders in the news media. The problem probably became self-sustaining, since hostile reporting generated a hostile attitude towards the press on the part of the army. General Cassels observed that

> It did make one hopping mad to read some of the comments in the Press . . . denigrating all or most of our actions. They sat in comfort and safety in England while we lived in fairly uncomfortable conditions and under the continued . . . threat of being sniped or blown up![99]

In fairness it must be stressed that the army was not accustomed to conducting operations under the glare of publicity. Nonetheless, the army's inexperience and the government's low profile approach to propaganda generally made it difficult for the Palestine authorities to present themselves

---

[97] Graves, p. 91.

[98] 'Bad Tempered Censorship', Evening Standard, 25 Nov. 1946, CO 537/2289.

[99] Cassels to author, 27 Nov. 1976.

as a winning side, let alone to recover from embarrassments like the Farran case. By contrast, the police recruiting campaign had a clear, if limited, objective. The various agencies concerned cooperated in the task and pursued the objective in a manner uncharacteristic of British propaganda efforts at that time. The initial message, which was reinforced and sustained, appealed to a receptive audience of young men and ex-servicemen who found peacetime life in Britain too dull or economically difficult and for whom the prospect of exciting work in Palestine provided a desirable alternative. In this sense perhaps the recruiting campaign was blessed by extraordinary timing: delayed much longer than was justified by police requirements, it opened against a background of rising violence which actually may have helped recruiting. In summary, it possessed and exploited what British propaganda lacked generally: all the elements of an effective propaganda campaign.

Conclusion

In June 1943 R. G. Casey, then Minister of State Resident in the Middle East, warned the British Government not to rely solely on military force to maintain order in Palestine. With, in retrospect, startling accuracy he alerted the government to the threat of a propaganda war in which the security forces would be the principal victims.

> In a complex situation like that of Palestine, military force is an admirable preventative against disturbance of internal security, but it is little use as a cure. . . . it will have failed in its first purpose if it ever has to be used. The extreme Zionist leaders would not be deterred by a display of military force alone, lacking any indication of the policy which it was stationed in Palestine to implement. They would rely on the obvious political embarrassment in London and Washington which would be entailed in ordering British . . . troops to "put down a Jewish rebellion" or even to fire on Zionist demonstrations. However inconsistent with the actual facts of the situation today in Palestine, there is a body of opinion amongst members of the British and American public which regard the Jews in Palestine as an

> "oppressed" and "defenceless" people. The entire force of the world-wide Zionist propaganda machine would be mobilized, in these circumstances, to present events in Palestine in this convenient emotional light and so to paralyse any effective action by security forces whose only directive was to "maintain order".[100]

But in 1945 Britain had no policy and directed its security forces simply 'to keep the peace'. As Casey foretold, the Zionists were not intimidated by the military presence and mobilized a world-wide propaganda campaign to discredit and paralyse it. In this context insurgent propaganda was most effective in Palestine itself. By combining basic Zionist assumptions with atrocity propaganda and themes of moral righteousness, martyrdom and justification of violence, the insurgents isolated the security forces from the Palestinian Jewish community and insulated themselves from police penetration. This was exactly what Begin intended when he appealed to the Jews to build 'a protecting wall' around the insurgents.[101] This propaganda victory had an immediate and significant impact on the counter-insurgency campaign: information on the insurgents all but dried up and in the absence of accurate intelligence the security forces were unable to stop terrorism; in short, they lost control of Palestine. The insurgents exploited this failure, and the numerous blunders which accompanied it, when they extended their propaganda campaign to the United States. By showing that the facts proved their case the insurgents kept the American administration firmly on the side of a Zionist solution to the Palestine problem and encouraged American sympathizers to continue their moral and financial assistance to the insurgents. Condemned and, through its own short-sightedness, lacking the means to

---

[100] WCP 246, 'Palestine: Memorandum by the Minister of State', 17 June 1943, CAB 66/37.

[101] Begin, p. 43.

respond, the British Government was unable to secure American support for the various British initiatives to settle the conflict.

In conclusion, insurgent propaganda did not influence directly the decisions of British policy-makers. Instead, as will be shown in the next chapter, it succeeded through a strategy of 'indirect approach': the inability to defeat the insurgents and the failure of political initiatives--themselves the products of effective insurgent propaganda--were the principal factors which convinced the British Government to relinquish the Palestine Mandate.

CHAPTER VIII

ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

Clausewitz called the decisive phase of conflict the 'culminating point'.[1] This point may be easily discernible in a conventional conflict: a significant defeat on the battlefield which shifts the strategic balance conclusively against one belligerent. However, in insurgency the turning point is often less than clear for the results on the battlefield are significant only to the extent that they affect political and strategic decisions on further conduct of the campaign. The culminating point is reached when the leaders on one side have been convinced that they can no longer impose constraints on the decisions and actions of the other. The result is a stalemate, which often favours the insurgents who win by demonstrating that the security forces cannot contain the insurgency. By September 1947 just such a situation prevailed in Palestine. Because the insurgents had convinced the British Government that it could not restore or maintain order, the operations of the security forces no longer affected the political outcome of the struggle. This chapter examines how the interplay of insurgent action and government response transformed Palestine from a strategic asset for the British to a political and military liability.

Operation AGATHA was the first significant event in this process. Since May 1945 senior officials in Palestine had been urging the British Government to do away with the

---

[1] Makers of Modern Strategy: Military Thought from Machiavelli to Hitler, ed. Edward Mead Earle (Princeton, 1941; repr. New York, 1967), p. 111.

Jewish Agency, which they regarded as a rival political power. The British Government, however, was reluctant to act against the Agency because it was a legitimate integral part of the Mandate.[2] Once the fighting started in the autumn the issue came up again. The Palestine administration was convinced, on the basis of intelligence and the Agency's refusal to cooperate against the insurgents, that the Agency was implicated in the violence. In November 1945 the Chief Secretary advised the Colonial Secretary that

> I will leave to you to judge whether the demeanour and activity of the Agency and its leaders during the past three years have been consistent with those obligations and responsibilities [imposed on the Agency under Article 4 of the Mandate]. . . . it is becoming difficult to the verge of impossibility for us unfortunates out here to deal with these people.[3]

The government did not act on his information, however, perhaps because it was at that time involved in the delicate negotiations with the American Government concerning creation of the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry.

The High Commissioner concluded, after insurgent attacks in December 1945, that action should be taken against the Agency. In Cunningham's view, it had rejected the legitimacy of the Palestine administration, had refused to cooperate with the government in suppressing, and was in fact financing, terrorism. He suggested that the security forces occupy the Agency's headquarters and place certain members under police supervision.[4] The cabinet, however,

---

[2] Secretary of State for the Colonies, 'Report of Discussion of Palestine Policy', 25 May 1945, CO 733/461.

[3] Shaw to Martin, 3 Nov. 1945, CO 733/456; Shaw to Hall, 9 Nov. 1945, CO 733/457; HC[6873], 4-5, BPP (1946); 3 Para. Bde., 'ISUM no. 3', 28 Nov. 1945, WO 169/I9705.

[4] Cunningham to Hall, 29-30 Dec. 1945, CO 733/457; Palestine Executive Council minutes, 1 Jan. 1946, CO 814/41.

opposed any such action because they felt it would strengthen the hand of the extremists in the Zionist movement and undermine that of the moderates, producing at the very least widespread disorder. Further, they believed it would produce an unfavourable reaction in the United States and render impossible effective work by the Anglo-American Commission. The Colonial Secretary suggested that Cunningham merely reduce contact with the Agency as a demonstration of the government's displeasure.[5] On the advice of the Chiefs of Staff Committee the cabinet rejected for the same reasons a wholesale search for arms. The Chiefs of Staff had advised the cabinet that a search at that time would be militarily counter-productive: a substantial search would probably result in armed conflict; anything less would not produce worthwhile results. They concluded that the most promising plan would be to conduct a search for arms as a secondary operation when action was taken to arrest the leadership of the Haganah and the Palmach. In any case there should be no search until insurgent activity made such a course of action 'obviously justifiable and necessary'.[6]

There were, therefore, sound political and military reasons for postponing any significant operation against the Jewish Agency and the insurgents. By June 1946, however, the government had to weigh these reasons against significant developments in the political and military situation. First, the report of the commission of inquiry had recommended that the Jewish Agency resume at once

---

[5] CM, 1 Jan. 1946, CAB 128/5; 'Extract from Brief Supplied to Creech-Jones for Cabinet, 1 Jan. 1946, and Hall to Cunningham, 2 Jan. 1946, CO 733/457.

[6] COSC minutes, 9, 16, Nov. 1945, CAB 79/41; C in C's Middle East to COSC, 19 Nov. 1945, and Cabinet Defence Committee (hereafter cited as CDC) Paper 31, 'Situation in Palestine: Report by Chiefs of Staff', 19 Nov. 1945, Cunningham Papers, V/4.

cooperation with the Palestine administration in the suppression of terrorism. Such cooperation was not forthcoming. The insurgent attacks in June represented a major escalation in the level of violence, which the High Commissioner feared would continue unless drastic action were taken. Cunningham, moreover, felt that the recent violence showed that extremist elements had taken control of the Agency which, in turn, controlled the Haganah. The cabinet concurred in his assessment, concluding that it could tolerate no longer a situation 'in which the authority of the government was set at nought'.[7]

Secondly, both the High Commissioner and the CIGS expressed fears that troops in Palestine might get out of hand unless the government took firm action against the insurgents.[8] Their fears were hardly groundless. Following the attack on the airborne car park in April Generals D'Arcy and Cassels warned Cunningham that failure to take firm action might result in reprisals by the troops themselves. Cassels recalls:

> When I went to see the High Commissioner was I allowed to do anything positive? . . . The answer is "No"--a few roadblocks here and there and the odd curfew but no more. All very frustrating and . . . it was not all that easy to keep the . . . Airborne soldiers under control when they saw their comrades being murdered.[9]

The High Commissioner approved only a curfew and road restrictions and, as the generals had predicted, some of the paratroopers engaged in a brief reprisal against a Jewish

---

[7] CP 238, 'Memorandum by Secretary of State for the Colonies', 19 June 1946, CAB 129/10; CM, 20 June 1946, CAB 128/5.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Cassels to author, 27 Nov. 1976. Cassels' recollection is confirmed in 'Record of a Meeting in the Chief Secretary's Office', 26 Apr. 1946, Cunningham Papers, V/4; and GHQ Middle East Forces to Cabinet Office, 1 May 1946, WO 169/22882.

settlement. After the kidnappings in June a British officer shot and killed a Jew who had jostled him on the street.[10] Against the background of these incidents Cunningham warned the cabinet that 'any hesitancy in action as result of kidnapping and shooting at officers will have serious effect on morale of troops who have already been tried very highly'.[11]

It may be fair to criticize the army commanders for either admitting incompetence to command or attempting to blackmail the government into using draconian measures. In any case, confronted by these compelling arguments the cabinet authorized the High Commissioner to take such steps as he considered necessary to break up the illegal military organizations, including a search of the Jewish Agency's headquarters and the arrest of its members.[12] The decision produced significant consequences for the counter-insurgency campaign. First, the principal political objective of the operation clearly was to split the Zionist movement in such a way as to isolate and neutralize the more extreme elements, thus allowing the moderates to regain control. Cunningham had long felt that it might be possible to produce such a division and General Barker was convinced the security forces could do so, so long as they struck principally at the Palmach, the Haganah leadership and the extreme elements in the Jewish Agency and did not try to neutralize and disarm the Haganah as a whole.[13] General Gale dissented; he

---

[10] Wilson, Cordon and Search, p. 48; HQ Palestine, 'Message', 18 June 1946, WO 169/23022; Cunningham to Hall, 21 June 1946, CO 733/456.

[11] CP 238, 19 June 1946, CAB 129/10.

[12] CM, 20 June 1946, CAB 128/5.

[13] Cunningham to Hall, 27 Dec. 1945, CO 733/463; Lieutenant General Evelyn Barker, 'Military Action to be Taken to Enforce Law and Order in Palestine', 22 June 1946, Cunningham Papers, V/4.

felt mass arrests might produce the exact opposite of the desired and anticipated effect, a leadership vacuum which would be filled by the extremists.[14]

In the short term, Barker and Cunningham were correct. Chaim Weizmann reasserted his authority over the Zionist movement, forced Moshe Sneh to resign as Haganah commander and the Haganah and Palmach to suspend offensive operations. After rejecting further armed resistance the Jewish Agency accepted in principle the idea of establishing a Jewish state in a partitioned Palestine. Nonetheless, the British Government was unable to exploit politically these developments. In his public statement on Operation AGATHA Cunningham had emphasized that the Jewish Agency was not being closed or proscribed and that 'The door of negotiation and discussion is not shut'.[15] Jewish politicians, however, appreciated that their cooperation was essential to a negotiated peaceful settlement of the Palestine question and they withheld such cooperation by refusing to participate in the London conference on Palestine unless their detained leaders were released. Of necessity this made progress at the conference almost impossible and in October 1946 the government felt induced to suspend the policy of general searches as a gesture of good faith in negotiations with the Agency over the resumption of political cooperation.[16] Thus, while Operation AGATHA allowed the British Government to apply a degree of pressure on the Jews, it gave more significant leverage to the Jewish political community to use as a weapon against Britain.

---

[14] Gale, p. 168.

[15] HQ Palestine, 'Statement by High Commissioner', 29 June 1946, WO 169/23022.

[16] 'Minutes of Meeting, Colonial Office and Jewish Agency Sub-Committee', 17 Oct. 1946, FO 371/52562.

Secondly, even if the cabinet had valid political reasons for taking action there was no sense in doing so unless it would restore law and order. The principal military objective of Operation AGATHA was to break up the insurgent organizations. This would be possible only if the security forces possessed sufficient intelligence on the underground groups, for experience had demonstrated that large searches based on little or no information were not cost-effective. Farrar-Hockley notes that under such circumstances 'sometimes you got a terrorist; sometimes you got something you weren't looking for. More often you got nothing.'[17] But General Barker advised the cabinet that the dearth of intelligence on the Irgun and the Lechi would confine the security forces to arresting members of the Haganah and the Palmach. Such action, he warned, would not stop terrorism; in fact it might increase after the operation.[18] In the event, he was correct: by September 1946 the rate of terrorist incidents had increased substantially above that of the previous ten-month period. It is possible to suggest several reasons why this occurred: the disruption of the resistance movement freed the Irgun and the Lechi from all constraints previously applied by the Haganah. Detention of the Zionist leaders precluded obtaining the cooperation of the Jewish public in gathering intelligence on the extremists. Furthermore, the High Commissioner commuted the death sentences which had resulted in the kidnappings,[19] thereby demonstrating that the insurgents, not the government, determined which laws would be enforced.

---

[17] Farrar-Hockley, interview with author. See also Appendix VII.

[18] Barker, 'Military Action', Cunningham Papers.

[19] Wilson, Cordon and Search, pp. 55-6.

In his brief to the cabinet General Barker had warned them that it would be impossible to subjugate the Jews by force indefinitely; a political solution was required.[20] When it ordered Operation AGATHA, however, the cabinet appeared to appreciate only the urgency of the immediate security crisis and not the long-term political implications of the proposed action. Consequently, Operation AGATHA contributed not to the pacification of Palestine but to a substantial deterioration in the security situation. By the end of the year the opportunity for a negotiated settlement had passed. The British Government was forced to choose between governing Palestine by coercion or abandoning the mandate altogether.

Field Marshal Montgomery was one of those who thought that coercion was long overdue. Prior to taking up his post as CIGS, he had visited Palestine during the insurgents' June offensive and told General Barker that 'this was no way to carry on. The Army must press for a decision to re-establish authority.'[21] Cunningham later told Creech-Jones that the field marshal had expressed this opinion before he had seen the situation and that he had pressed his views with such vigour that General Paget wrote personally to Alanbrooke, the retiring CIGS, to inform him that there was no truth in Montgomery's allegations.[22] There may be several reasons why Montgomery took this view. By his own account he felt Britain should fight to retain its position in the Middle East, which he regarded as a vital base for strategic reserves.[23] He was undoubtedly

---

[20] Barker, 'Military Action', Cunningham Papers.

[21] Montgomery, p. 423.

[22] Cunningham to Creech-Jones, 23 Nov. 1946, CO 537/1731.

[23] Montgomery, pp. 433, 436.

irritated to see the 6th Airborne Division, the élite formation of the proposed Imperial Strategic Reserve, tied down on internal security duties. Moreover, it is clear that the essence of counter-insurgency escaped him possibly, as Cunningham suggests, because of his experience in the pre-war Arab revolt:

> There is, of course, no comparison between that situation and the present. Moreover, I have seen a telegram to CINCMELF to the effect that as a soldier he should not be concerned with politics and must visualise matters from a purely military angle. I need hardly comment on this in so far as Palestine is concerned.[24]

This would appear to confirm Alun Chalfont's assessment that 'The political situation in the Middle East was altogether too complex for Montgomery.'[25] Such attitudes were scarcely confined to Montgomery; they were common to the army as a whole. His views are important, however, because as CIGS Montgomery was in a position to influence security policy in Palestine. He began to play an active role in this regard in November 1946, with important consequences.

The field marshal had dissented on the decision to release the detained Jewish leaders and regarded the current peacekeeping role as appeasement. In the wake of the increasing attacks on the security forces and the railways and the police reprisals, the IG of the Palestine Police told Montgomery, 'We must beat terrorism or it will beat us.'[26] Colonel Gray's comment undoubtedly reinforced Montgomery's own misgivings about the wisdom of the current security policy. On 20 November Montgomery told the COSC

---

[24] Cunningham to Creech-Jones, 23 Nov. 1946, CO 537/1731.

[25] Chalfont, p. 334.

[26] 'Notes on Relationship Between High Commissioner and General Officer Commanding Palestine', Nov. 1946, CO 537/1731.

that in his opinion the policy of appeasement had failed. The suspension of searches and release of detained leaders had not produced any improvement in the security situation; instead, the situation had deteriorated: casualties were increasing and the police were still understrength. He felt that the government should issue a new directive to the High Commissioner to use the forces at his disposal to maintain strict law and order.[27] He repeated these points in the Cabinet Defence Committee meeting that afternoon, adding that he felt the army had lost the initiative it had gained in June and that the defensive attitude had seriously increased the strain on morale. The field marshal felt that strain had caused the police reprisals and that the problem could spread to the army. Pressed by the Prime Minister as to what further measures were required, Montgomery replied that the army had been prevented from searching for arms or from acting on intelligence received prior to incidents. The committee asked the Colonial Office and the War Office to examine the conditions regarding the use of the armed forces in Palestine.[28]

Cunningham rejected Montgomery's allegations and asked that the inference be withdrawn. There were, he said, no limitations on the use of the armed forces. He explained that the operations in June had not gained the initiative against the terrorists, nor had that been the intention; they had only driven a wedge between the terrorists and the Haganah, who were now quiescent. The High Commissioner explained that discussion generally resolved most questions of civil-military relations where opinions were at variance. Neither he nor General Barker could suggest any changes in the decision-making process and both agreed that the

---

[27] COSC minutes, 20 Nov. 1946, FO 371/52565.

[28] CDC minutes, 20 Nov. 1946, FO 371/52565.

government should encourage the Jews to deal with the insurgent problem themselves while it tried to improve police methods.[29]

At the end of November the CIGS visited the Middle East to see the situation for himself. He found an ally in General Miles Dempsey, Commander-in-Chief Middle East Land Forces, who favoured immediate searches and the imposition of fines on communities where incidents had occurred.[30] Cunningham opposed such action which, he felt, amounted to reprisals:

> I should say with the examples of Ireland and even the Arab rebellion before me, I am dead against reprisals as such. The question of the morale of the troops is constantly in my mind and is a factor which I am constantly emphasising to HM Government, but I am sure that you will agree that it would not be right to take action which would imperil imminent political solution to this thorny problem, which alone can bring peace to this country, for the sake of the morale factor alone.[31]

As General Barker did not attend the conference, Cunningham faced Montgomery and Dempsey alone on these issues. They agreed that the most effective counter-insurgency plan would be to employ the minimum number of troops on defensive tasks and the largest number in a mobile offensive role to seize and maintain the initiative. They concluded, however, that the restrictions imposed on the army by the existence of an armed population, the immense task of guarding the railway and the inability to take action except on the receipt of intelligence were so great that it was not possible to carry

---

[29] Cunningham to Creech-Jones, 23 Nov. 1946, CO 537/1731; Barker to author, 30 Aug. 1976. In his letter General Barker confirmed that he felt the system of consultation worked well. He could not recall any issues that were not resolved in this manner.

[30] Cunningham to Creech-Jones, 23 Nov. 1946, CO 537/1731.

[31] Ibid.

out the proposed plan.[32] Privately, however, Cunningham dissented from the consensus. He told Creech-Jones that he thought the army would not be effective even if it was allowed to develop its full power in maintaining law and order and would, in any case, antagonize the large proportion of the population who were otherwise opposed to terrorism. At the same time, he believed that 'unleashing' the army was still a credible threat. Cunningham warned Jewish leaders that only he stood between them and the army and that if the violence continued he would stand aside and free the army. They replied that the insurgents had agreed to a truce during the Zionist congress and the High Commissioner responded by suspending a proposed series of searches which would have been instituted following further incidents.[33]

Cunningham was correct in his assessment of the limitations on the effectiveness of the army. Given the poor state of intelligence, there was little more the army could do without becoming a political menace; the mobile role envisaged by Montgomery would be sufficient to antagonize the Jewish population but was likely to fall short of coercing them into cooperation with the security forces. Such a role was, in any case, inappropriate to this largely urban conflict. Montgomery did not grasp the essential point that numbers, mobility and firepower were not the decisive elements in this conflict. The insurgents did not operate in large formations; cells of two or three men planned and carried out the operations and dealing with these was a matter for the police, not the army. The field marshal appears, in any case, to have been misinformed with

---

[32] Cunningham to Creech-Jones, 3 Dec. 1945, CO 537/1731.

[33] Ibid., and Cunningham to Creech-Jones, 6, 12 Dec. 1946, CO 537/1731.

regard to certain factors which influenced his judgement of the situation. The police reprisals were the product of a combination of factors of which strain was only one element. The factors did not pertain to the army and reports from the period indicate that, despite poor living conditions and the demands of continuous operations, army morale was high.[34] He was correct that the army had been prevented from searching for arms specifically, but Cunningham was not solely responsible for this policy: the cabinet had rejected such action on the advice of senior military commanders.

Cunningham, for his part, may be criticized for undue optimism. A political solution to the Palestine problem was by no means imminent in November 1946. And while police reform was required, cooperation of the Jewish population and official bodies was equally essential and was not likely to be forthcoming. Hurewitz states that the British offensive in the summer of 1946 had seriously undermined the authority of the Jewish Agency, whose moderate leaders could have constrained the insurgents.[35] The detention of those leaders undoubtedly weakened the Agency's ability to control the violence but the Agency probably discredited itself by agreeing to renounce terrorism in exchange for the detainees without extracting any changes in British immigration policy or Palestine policy in general. In either case, without a solution or a policy change favourable to the Jews the police would not receive the cooperation from the Jewish public that was vital to defeat terrorism.

As the Colonial Office and the War Office prepared their cases for the prime minister, Cunningham, Barker and

---

[34] See Chapter IV; see also 2 Inf. Bde., Quarterly Historical Report, Dec. 1946, WO 261/192; 2 Para. Bde., Quarterly Historical Report, Nov. 1946, WO 261/213. Bethell, p. 288 cites evidence to the contrary.

[35] Hurewitz, p. 255.

Colonial Office found themselves supporting a minority viewpoint. They stressed that if the government desired a political settlement then it must do all in its power to strengthen those opposed to terrorism, with whom a settlement would be negotiated. Hence, military action would have to remain restricted to direct attacks on insurgents when encountered, immediate searches in the vicinity of incidents or preventive action based on sound intelligence concerning proposed insurgent operations.[36] The War Office view hardened along Montgomery's lines:

> viewed from a military standpoint the policy of appeasement has failed. The restoration of law and order can depend only on the adoption of a consistent and vigorous policy in dealing with disturbers of the peace. Such a policy is not in force. If we are to prevent the present situation in Palestine from getting out of hand, strong military preventive action must be taken in Palestine at once.[37]

Montgomery believes that the flogging incidents at the end of December persuaded the prime minister to concur with him when the Cabinet Defence Committee discussed security policy on 1 January 1947.[38] The results of the meeting appear to support Montgomery's claim. Ernest Bevin and Albert Alexander, the Minister of Defence, supported a tough policy and Montgomery himself challenged Creech-Jones' assertion that restraint had produced results. The CIGS said that all the information at the army's disposal indicated otherwise. The field marshal wanted to flood the country with mobile troops to restore confidence in authority and to make things difficult for the insurgents. Montgomery won his case; the

---

[36] CDC Paper 145, 'Use of Armed Forces, Part II: Colonial Office View', 19 Dec. 1946, CO 537/1731.

[37] 'Use of Armed Forces, Part I: War Office View', 19 Dec. 1946, CO 537/1731.

[38] Montgomery, p. 469.

committee directed Creech-Jones, Alexander, and Cunningham to draw up a new directive to the High Commissioner. Since it involved a change of policy it would be submitted to the cabinet for approval.[39] Two days later Montgomery, Creech-Jones, Cunningham and two Colonial Office officials met to draft the directive. The CIGS pressed his case in even stronger terms: he advocated 'turning the place upside down' to disrupt the population and to persuade them to cooperate with the authorities against the insurgents. Montgomery welcomed the opportunity to draw the Haganah out for a battle, claiming he had succeeded with such measures against the Arabs before the war. Enthusiastically he offered the whole strength of the British Army, bringing in reinforcements from Egypt or Germany. Cunningham feared that this would destroy any hope of a political settlement and Creech-Jones observed that war with the Haganah meant war with the whole Jewish nation. Montgomery replied that he thought the British Government would have to enforce partition against the wishes of the Jews and the Arabs. He then asked Cunningham if he was prepared to give the GOC a free hand to carry out the new directive. Cunningham replied that he was not so prepared, since he had to take the political aspect into account.[40]

In spite of the obvious disagreement the draft directive was sent to cabinet, where Creech-Jones did not oppose it further. He explained that the army wished to have the power to conduct searches anywhere at any time and to be free to increase patrols in dangerous areas. Montgomery added that recent searches without specific

---

[39] CDC minutes, 1 Jan. 1947, CO 537/1731; Montgomery to Pyman, 2 Jan. 1947, Pyman Diaries, 6/1/2.

[40] 'Note of a Conference at the Colonial Office', 3 Jan. 1947, CO 537/1731.

evidence had been very effective. The cabinet approved the directive, which instructed the High Commissioner to take all possible steps using the security forces at his disposal to establish law and order. They were not to conduct reprisals, but were to take the offensive and seize the initiative. The directive advised the High Commissioner that 'Such action as you may take to implement the policy outlined . . . above will receive the full support of His Majesty's Government.'[41]

This was surely nothing less than a 'blank cheque', significant both in its results and in revealing how the complex interaction of events, decisions, and personalities changed the way in which the British Government directed the war. Though not mentioned in the discussions, insurgent operations undoubtedly influenced the cabinet's decision: three days earlier the Lechi had bombed the Haifa District police headquarters, causing considerable loss of life. Furthermore, the High Commissioner's decision to remit the second caning sentence aroused considerable controversy, just as the policy debate reached a climax. In a telegram to Dempsey which was later withdrawn because it caused so much 'concern in high places', Montgomery said leniency was a weak and thoroughly bad policy which could only make things worse for the government and the security forces. He told Dempsey to take this up with the High Commissioner.[42] Sir Winston Churchill echoed these sentiments in the House of Commons debate on Palestine at the end of January:

---

[41] CM, 6, 15 Jan. 1947, CAB 128/9; CP 3, 'Memorandum by Secretary of States for the Colonies: Use of Armed Forces', 7 Jan. 1947, CAB 129/16. Montgomery claims that Creech-Jones asked him to draft the new directive. The documents make no mention of this but the directive bears the unmistakable stamp of Montgomery's thinking. See Montgomery, p. 469.

[42] Montgomery to Dempsey, 16 Jan. 1947, Pyman Diaries, 6/1/2; Montgomery, p. 470.

> You may remit a sentence of caning because you do not like that form of punishment, you may remit it because you have a tender heart, you may remit it because some new circumstance has arisen since the magistrate or tribunal gave the decisions, but you do not remit it because a British major . . . and three sergeants are caught and subjected to that punishment, and because you are afraid it may happen to some more. . . . This is the road of abject defeat.[43]

The policy debate also reflected personalities. Montgomery and Cunningham were at odds. Cunningham appeared to be indecisive, while the field marshal's views conveyed the impression of strength. Major-General Pyman, Dempsey's Chief of Staff, felt that there would not be a more robust and enlightened policy until Cunningham was replaced. He reminded a colleague that the High Commissioner's wartime record suggested a lack of resolve: 'You will remember that he gave in at Sidi Rezehg in December 1941 forty eight hours too soon'.[44] Montgomery was justified in criticizing Cunningham for rescinding the caning sentence under duress, but at least the High Commissioner appreciated the political dimension of the conflict; the field marshal did not. In a message to Pyman the CIGS stated that once started the new policy would have to be carried through 'firmly and relentlessly and despite world opinion or Jewish reaction in America'.[45] This appears to confirm Cunningham's recollection years later:

> Lord Montgomery . . . deals only with the military side of the problem. I had to deal with it from all angles. From this wider point of view it seemed and seems to me that the main effect of Lord Montgomery's intervention was to bedevil it still further. . . . What he forgets is that there was a civil government in being, and that

---

[43] Churchill, Complete Speeches, VII, 7422.

[44] Pyman to Hobart, Jan. undated, Pyman Diaries, 6/1/2.

[45] Montgomery to Pyman, 2 Jan. 1947, Pyman Diaries, 6/1/2.

> the military means had to be dovetailed into political requirements.[46]

Montgomery was a professional soldier and it is hard to fault the field marshal for trying to cope with the problem in the only way his profession had shown him. Yet even his military judgements were misguided or, at the very least, ill-advised. There was nothing to be gained by doing battle with the inactive Haganah when the Irgun and the Lechi were carrying out the attacks. Contrary to his understanding, the successful searches in January 1947 had been based on accurate intelligence.[47]

The cabinet's approval of the new directive to the High Commissioner indicates that one result of the insurgency process was that Cunningham and Barker found themselves overruled in or excluded from operational policy-making, which occurred now at a higher level. The distance, both physical and intellectual, that separated the cabinet from the situation on the ground in Palestine enhanced existing misconceptions about the object of security force operations. Montgomery correctly grasped that the 'militarized' political situation would be resolved by force, not negotiation. What he, and perhaps some of his cabinet colleagues, did not comprehend fully were the limits that policy imposed on the use of force. By the end of February 1947 the government had decided to turn over to the United Nations the responsibility for resolving the Palestine problem. In circumstances where Britain had all but abdicated political responsibility for the final outcome, the security forces had but two options: first, they could take punitive action against the Jewish community as a whole to coerce them into cooperation with the police; or secondly,

---

[46] General Sir Alan Cunningham, 'Policy in Palestine: An Answer to Montgomery's Criticisms', Daily Telegraph, 9 Dec. 1958.

[47] See Chapter VI.

the security forces could attempt to combat the insurgents without the assistance of the public. Both options involved political risks: if these measures failed to restore order the insurgents would have demonstrated conclusively Britain's inability to govern Palestine; in the absence of a political settlement all that would remain was the prospect of a progressively deteriorating security situation.

Security force commanders went into the 1947 offensive with some misgivings. Martial law could not be imposed on Haifa because of the need to keep the port, refineries and British businesses functioning. The plan for Jerusalem was regarded as an unsatisfactory last resort.[48] General Dempsey insisted that martial law be imposed for as long as was necessary to produce satisfactory results in terms of arrests, with or without the assistance of the public. He regarded a fortnight as the absolute minimum because

> The employment of the Army on such a scale as this is a serious and weighty matter and has been put into effect only after the most careful thought and preparation. To call off the present operations too soon would make it appear that we regarded the recent outrages and our consequent action as comparatively trivial matters and it would in my view be a very grave mistake.[49]

Even Montgomery, whose insistence on tough measures had induced the new offensive, expressed doubts about the ability of the security forces to restore the situation. In a message to Dempsey he reflected: 'It is useless for us to go into back History and to say that if only we had tackled the problem initially with proper will power and determination we would never have got to the present situation. All this is of course very true. The point now is whether we

---

[48] Minutes of Security Conference, 23 Feb. 1947, Cunningham Papers.

[49] Dempsey to MacMillan, 3 Mar. 1947, Pyman Diaries, 6/1/4.

can handle the business.'[50] He concluded that the security forces could deal with the situation provided that the politicians permitted them to do so and there were sufficient troops for the task.

In the event, he was correct. Coercion produced a degree of cooperation from the population and, as noted earlier, the arrests that ensued reduced sharply the level of violence during the next quarter of 1947.[51] But it would be three months before this was obvious and the cabinet, concerned with immediate results, was not impressed. General Gale had stated at the outset that martial law would continue until terrorism was 'eradicated'.[52] Not only had terrorism continued within and outside the controlled areas, martial law had proven as damaging economically to the administration as to the Jewish community. Moreover, the cabinet believed that lifting martial law after such a short period conveyed an impression of weakness which would encourage only further resistance. The apparently inconclusive results led the cabinet to conclude that extending martial law over the whole country would not be effective. The High Commissioner opposed it because the army had advised him that imposing martial law throughout the country would have no extra effect against the insurgents and, in any case, there were insufficient troops to do so. Cunningham added pointedly that the army could not be expected to secure the whole country when it could not defend even itself from attack. Moreover, both he and the Colonial Secretary believed that the experience of martial law had demonstrated that the Palestine Government could not afford the economic hardship ensuing from a country-wide

---

[50] Montgomery to Dempsey, 4 Mar. 1947, Pyman Diaries, 6/1/4.

[51] See Chapter VI.

[52] Daily Telegraph and Morning Post, 3 Mar. 1947.

withdrawal of services.[53] The Chiefs of Staff concurred. They felt that the security forces could not govern the country and continue internal security operations as well. Their report recommended, first, that civil government continue, making wide use of the High Commissioner's powers under the emergency regulations. Secondly, the security forces should intensify pressure against the insurgents by the usual methods. Third, the government could re-impose martial law for limited periods when and where necessary and, finally, summary military courts should be established with the power to impose the death penalty for specific offences. The cabinet approved the report subject to further consideration of the recommendation concerning military courts.[54]

While the cabinet debated the merits of martial law the security forces attempted to combat the insurgents with their own methods. M. R. D. Foot defines special operations as 'unorthodox coups, . . . unexpected strokes of violence, usually mounted and executed outside the military establishment of the day, which exercise a startling effect on the enemy; preferably at the highest level'.[55] The operations of the special squads went some way towards achieving that

---

[53] Gale to MacMillan, 13 Mar. 1947, cited in 1 Inf. Div., 'Report on Operation ELEPHANT', pp. 9-10, Moore Papers; Cunningham to Creech-Jones, 14, 16 Mar. 1947, CO 537/2299; Minutes of Security Conference, 17 Mar. 1947, Cunningham Papers; CP 95, 'Memorandum by Secretary of State for the Colonies: Palestine--Use of Armed Forces', 19 Mar. 1947, CAB 129/17; CM, 20, 27 Mar. 1947, CAB 128/9.

[54] CP 107, 'Report by Chiefs of Staff: Palestine--Imposition of Martial Law', 26 Mar. 1947, CAB 129/18; CM, 27 Mar. 1947, CAB 128/9. The government gazetted a new emergency regulation which precluded appeal or calling into question of any judgement, decision, order, sentence or direction of a military court.

[55] Foot, 'Special Operations, Part I', p. 19.

objective, but the scheme was flawed in many respects and it is doubtful whether the squads could have achieved more under the circumstances. First, the squads became a 'private army'. While they worked ostensibly under the direction of the DSP they were answerable only to Colonel Fergusson, who in turn reported directly to the IG, Colonel Gray. They thus bypassed completely the normal police chain of command. Secondly, placed outside the normal command structure the squads never became fully integrated with the CID Political Branch, for whom covert anti-terrorist operations were routine. While close cooperation existed at lower levels some senior police officers did not approve of or support the scheme. Furthermore, rather than exploit the talent available in the CID, Colonel Fergusson turned to the army for leaders with wartime experience of special operations. The squads, although recruited from the ranks of the police force, consisted largely of ex-servicemen rather than experienced police intelligence officers.[56]

Third, from the beginning the squads laboured under grave limitations. They had trained together for only a fortnight in a rural setting despite the fact that the cities were to be their theatre of operations. Special operations rely on secrecy for effect but by Farran's own account the activities of the squads were anything but secret.[57] Finally and most important, the tactical

---

[56] Bernard Fergusson, 'Memorandum to Palestine Secretary, Colonial Office: Secondment of Army Officers to Palestine Police', 12 Feb. 1947, CO 537/2270; Fergusson, pp. 210-1, 225-6; Farran, p. 248; Lord Ballantrae (Bernard Fergusson) to author, 20 July 1978; The Hon. Roy Farran to author, 17 Aug. 1978. Farran's squad included five SAS veterans who had served with him during the war, an ex-cavalry sergeant, two commandos, and an Irish-American fighter pilot. The AIG/CID and the DIG Police were opposed to the scheme.

[57] Farran, pp. 348-9, 351, 375, 377, 380-1; Fergusson, pp. 225-6.

objectives of the squads were never clear. In theory, such units can be used to gather intelligence covertly for the CID. Alternatively, the squads could exploit CID intelligence to capture or kill the insurgents themselves. Colonel Fergusson clearly favoured the latter role since the squads did not consist of trained detectives and none of the men had more than a cursory comprehension of Hebrew. Thus, their value as intelligence gathering units was limited.[58] However, if the squads were to operate in the anti-terrorist role they required good intelligence and their operational guidelines would have to be specific and in accordance with the law; as soldiers and policemen they were bound by regulations which were very clear on their powers of arrest and the circumstances under which they could open fire. But, accurate intelligence was scarce and there was no clear directive to specify how the squads were to be employed. In his memoirs Fergusson noted that they were 'not to terrorize or repay in kind, but to anticipate and to give would-be raiders a bloody nose as they came in to raid'.[59] Farran, on the other hand, maintains that they were given full discretion to operate as they pleased within their area: to advise on defence against terrorism and to take an active part in hunting the insurgents. Farran considered this 'a carte blanche . . . a free hand for us against terror when all others were so closely hobbled'.[60] When the case became public, however, the Chief Secretary insisted that "No authority has ever been given for the use by any member of the police force of other than ordinary police methods in

---

[58] Fergusson, 'Memorandum to Palestine Secretary', CO 537/2270; Fergusson, pp. 225-6.

[59] Fergusson, p. 210.

[60] Farran, p. 348.

dealing with apprehended persons'.[61]

The obvious discrepancies suggest that the guidelines were less than clear in some crucial aspects. In any case, the use of special operations was out of step with the strategic objectives of the internal security campaign. Even in the offensive phase a mandate to restore law and order precluded the employment of disruptive tactics of dubious legality. There was, furthermore, a lack of political judgement: the security forces were operating in a political vacuum while the United Nations considered the Palestine problem. It was hardly the most auspicious moment to commence special operations. It would be easy to fault the High Commissioner and the Colonial Office for approving the special operations scheme under conditions which appear, in retrospect, most inappropriate. But the cabinet's 'blank cheque' and the constant pressure from Montgomery to intensify operations against the insurgents place the approval of the plan in perspective. They might be criticized, however, for failing to extract from Colonel Fergusson a clear idea of how he intended to use the squads.

The blame, in any case, does not lie entirely with the government. The scheme and the results which ensued were direct products of the militarization of the police. The men who made the decisions and set the events in train were soldiers and their lack of experience in police matters led them to turn a police role into a military one. They excluded the CID from a task for which it was trained and experienced; it became the servant of the squads rather than the master. Furthermore, Fergusson's and Farran's wartime experience caused them to think of Palestine and thereby to devise their operations as if they were in occupied Europe. But the analogy was incorrect because the security forces

---

[61] Gurney to Creech-Jones, 25 June 1947, Cunningham Papers, II/1.

were the occupation force and the insurgents were the resistance movement.

Conducted in a poor intelligence environment without strategic purpose or clear tactical objectives, the operations could be expected to achieve only minor success at best. There was no reason to expect that the squads would be effective by covert means when the overt system of internal security had already broken down. The insurgents were quick to exploit for propaganda purposes any British excess, while the British Government was demonstrably unable to counter insurgent propaganda. It was a high risk situation for a democracy striving to achieve impartiality and international recognition of its efforts. The decision-makers obviously failed to assess the potential liabilities of the operations if they were exposed. In failing to do so they left themselves open to a situation in which the nature of the operations provided the insurgents with specific ammunition with which to discredit the mandatory power. When this occurred the special operations exercised a startling effect--at the highest levels of the British Government.[62]

In the aftermath of Operation TIGER and the hanging of the two sergeants, debate resumed on the efficacy of martial law. However, a whole new set of considerations confronted the cabinet. First, Arab-Jewish communal violence had erupted recently on a large scale. Early in August 1947 Cunningham advised Creech-Jones that 'I cannot guarantee that the situation will not deteriorate to such a degree that the Civil Government will not break down and as you know it is by no means clear how much longer I can keep the Civil Service working under conditions such as exist at

---

[62] Creech-Jones to Cunningham, 18-19 June 1947, Cunningham Papers, II/1; see also Chapter VII.

present.'[63] Secondly, Britain was in the midst of an economic crisis and on 30 July the government ordered an increase in the rate of demobilization.[64] Third, when India and Pakistan became independent on 15 August much of the justification for Britain's Middle East strategy simply evaporated. At the same time the United Nations Security Council upheld continuation of the Anglo-Egyptian treaty. British troops would be able to remain in the canal zone, and in September the British Government announced that the major supply base for the region would be transferred to Kenya.[65] Against this background the politicians and military commanders considered the options remaining for Palestine. On 3 August General Sir John Crocker, C in C Middle East Land Forces, advised the War Office that the troops in Palestine were sufficient to impose martial law on only one area at a time and that even if the situation demanded more, the application of martial law over the whole country would delay planned deployments; it was therefore to be avoided. Nonetheless, he argued forcefully against any further reductions in troop strength, otherwise it would become difficult to fulfil even limited obligations in Palestine, quite apart from any other commitments in the Middle East. With the support of the Cabinet Defence Committee Montgomery hastened to assure Crocker that his forces would not be reduced further.[66] At the same time Cunningham sent an equally gloomy assessment to Creech-Jones. He explained that while martial law was the only remaining

---

[63] Cunningham to Creech-Jones, 7 Aug. 1947, CO 537/2299.

[64] Rosecrance, p. 63.

[65] Ibid., Darby, pp. 10, 37; Kirk, p. 8.

[66] Crocker to Simpson, 3 Aug. 1947, Simpson to Crocker, 4 Aug. 1947, Pyman Diaries, 6/1/8.

option, it would not stop terrorism and would place a strain on the army without improving its ability to deal with the situation. Nonetheless, he would hold it in readiness; Creech-Jones endorsed his views.[67] The government in London, however, was also disillusioned with the results of martial law. One senior Colonial Office official pointed out that Cunningham's views on martial law were contradictory and that in any case it would damage the administration and British prestige.[68]

Following a conference with the GOC Palestine, General MacMillan, on 7 August Crocker informed Cunningham that in view of potential difficulties in Egypt (related to the decision to remain in the canal zone) there would be no reinforcements available for Palestine.[69] On 30 August the British Government announced further reductions in the size of the armed forces, accompanied by reduced defence spending. By early September the War Office and the Colonial Office had agreed that it would not be possible to impose martial law on Palestine as a whole.[70] The implications of these arguments could scarcely be lost upon the government: even without attempting to enforce a solution the security forces were insufficient and were incapable of maintaining order. Owing to force reductions and commitments elsewhere they could not be reinforced. Finally, Palestine was no longer essential as a base area. Under such circumstances the British had no viable option but to withdraw. The Minister

---

[67] Cunningham to Creech-Jones, 4 Aug. 1947, Creech-Jones to Cunningham, 5 Aug. 1947, CO 537/2299.

[68] Trafford-Smith to Lloyd, 12 Aug. 1947, CO 537/2299.

[69] 'Conference no. 2: Palestine, and Discussion with General MacMillan', 7 Aug. 1947, and Crocker to Cunningham, 13 Aug. 1947, Pyman Diaries, 6/1/8.

[70] Charteris to Mathieson, 10 Sept. 1947, CO 537/2299; Rosecrance, p. 63.

of Defence advised the cabinet that, even in the absence of an Arab-Jewish agreement, there were sufficient forces to maintain order during an immediate withdrawal.[71]

The struggle between the British security forces and the Jewish insurgents reached its 'culminating point' in September 1947; the British conceded defeat. The difficulty in determining the reasons for this defeat is related both to understanding the nature of the war and the perspective from which the war is seen and examined. This is true not only for the participants in the conflict, but for those who attempt to analyse it after the fighting has ceased. The conflict in Palestine is a case in point: there is a general consensus among historians that insurgent terrorism played a role in persuading the British Government to relinquish the Palestine Mandate. There is less agreement on the significance of the insurgent role. Apologists for the Haganah insist that that the Irgun and the Lechi did not make a decisive contribution to the independence struggle.[72] Others, like Begin himself and some historians, attribute the British withdrawal solely to the actions of the insurgents: J. Bowyer Bell, for example, describes the hanging of the two sergeants as 'the straw that broke the Mandate's back'.[73]

Both viewpoints are simplistic at best. Most serious scholars have concluded that even such dramatic events must be measured against the political and economic conditions surrounding Britain's involvement in the Mandate

---

[71] CM, 20 Sept. 1947, CAB 128/10.

[72] Allon, Making of Israel's Army, p. 29; Laqueur, p. 118.

[73] Begin, p. 329; Blaxland, p. 47; Marlowe, Seat of Pilate, p. 228; Bell, Terror Out of Zion, p. 238.

at that time.[74] At a cursory glance the evidence presented in this thesis appears to support the view that the insurgents' strategy of leverage succeeded largely because of factors over which the insurgents had no control: the economic crisis in Britain and the changes in Middle East strategy which flowed from the independence of India. Yet this interpretation remains incomplete. For every victorious army there is a vanquished one. Even the serious scholars have failed to address in a critical way a central question raised by the conflict: why did the security forces fail to defeat the insurgents? The answer is, admittedly, complex.

First, no military campaign, conventional or otherwise, will succeed unless guided by an overall strategy; the British Government and its security forces did not have a strategy for the Palestine conflict. The dual obligation imposed upon Britain by the Mandate precluded the formulation of a policy acceptable to both Arabs and Jews and consistent with Britain's perceived strategic interests in the Middle East. Britain's refusal to make concessions to the Jews that were unacceptable to the Arabs strengthened the hand of the Jewish insurgents; in the militarized political situation that ensued a negotiated settlement became impossible. Unwilling to impose a solution by force, embarrassed by the violence and plagued by economic crisis, the British Government sought an honourable exit from the Mandate.

Security policy, however, did not reflect this political objective. Initially the security forces were to 'keep the peace' until the government had drafted its Palestine policy. But from June 1946 the government

---

[74] Hurewitz, p. 282; Bethell, pp. 358, 360. Even Bell, Terror Out of Zion, p. 240, suggests in a muddled way that economic factors were an important consideration.

directed the security forces to defeat the insurgents, ostensibly to produce the political conditions conducive to the implementation of a solution. In the absence of a policy which would satisfy even the moderates in the Zionist movement the directive was ill-timed at best, irresponsible at worst. It demonstrates, moreover, another reason why there was no strategy: neither the political leaders nor the army understood the nature of the conflict in which they were involved, the former because of their distance from the war and their concentration solely on the political issues; the latter because their professional ethic, traditions, training and experience prevented comprehension of the political nature of the war. Both the government and the army saw the two components of the struggle--politics and security--as separate entities, not as two battles mutually inderdependent, to be fought simultaneously and in coordination. Each saw the conflict from his own perspective and acted as though the other dimension did not exist. Instead of supporting each other the political and military dimensions conflicted, making both tasks more difficult. Furthermore, neither the government nor the security forces recognized the need for the third--psychological--component. The failure to understand the nature of the war left the political and psychological initiative entirely in the hands of the insurgents. Consequently, the government and the security forces lost the strategic battle virtually by default. This strategic failure, as much as the economic crisis and the skill of the insurgents, made the insurgent victory possible.

Secondly, good intelligence is a prerequisite for successful military or security operations. For several reasons the security forces in Palestine operated without sufficient accurate intelligence. The army's internal security doctrine left to the police the task of gathering intelligence. But the Palestine Police were isolated from

their principal source of information--the Jewish community--by linguistic barriers, widespread non-cooperation and effective insurgent propaganda and security. The army never became involved in the intelligence-gathering process to an extent sufficient to compensate for the weakness in police capabilities. Unable either to prevent attacks on themselves or to penetrate and disrupt the insurgent organizations, the security forces tended to become defensive, leaving the operational initiative in the hands of the insurgents. When the politicians insisted upon large-scale operations and approved special operations the dearth of intelligence ensured that they did not stop terrorism. The meagre results and the inevitable errors and excesses that ensued convinced the British Government that it could not govern Palestine by normal and moral means; since other means were neither possible nor appropriate abdication was the only alternative. Weakness in the intelligence field, therefore, ensured British defeat in the tactical battle for control of Palestine. Again, the success of the insurgents must be measured against security force shortcomings over which the insurgents had only partial influence.

Moving from the specific to the general, the Palestine case suggests some general propositions of counter-insurgency. First, the government and the security forces must coordinate their actions in order to achieve agreed political and security objectives. But this requires, in turn, that both elements of the incumbent regime understand that the nature of insurgency demands the integration of political and military means. Although this might require a major change in the way in which politicians and soldiers view the insurgent problem, the experience of Malaya and some campaigns since suggests that it is possible. Secondly, an honest and efficient police force is the government's most important tactical weapon. Well-trained, adequately protected and used with discrimination,

it is the sole means by which the government can enforce rule of law using minimum force. However, it is worth introducing a note of caution. T. E. Lawrence wrote in 1920 that 'Rebellions can be made by two per cent active in a striking force and 98 per cent passively sympathetic.'[75] The Palestine case supports this assertion. Where the insurgents have that degree of support from the population even an effective police force will have grave difficulties in gathering intelligence. Under such circumstances the government has lost the war even before the fighting has begun.

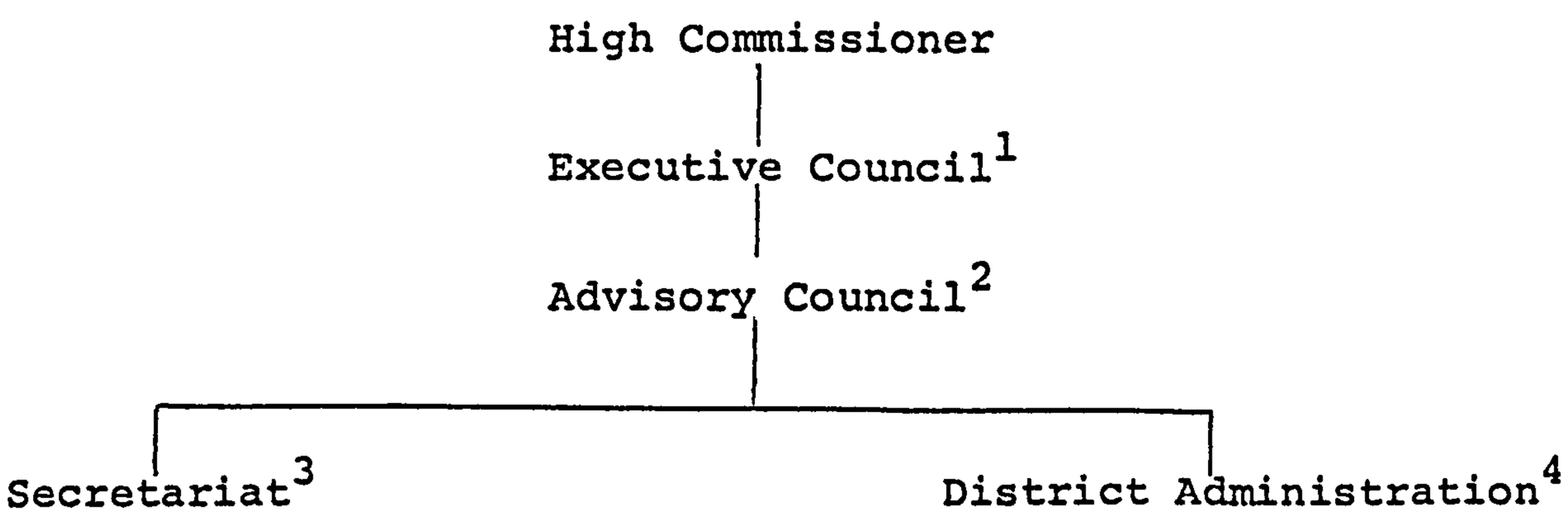
---

[75] Lawrence, 'Evolution of a Revolt', p. 160.

APPENDIX I

THE ADMINISTRATION OF PALESTINE

Figure 1. The Organization of Civil Government*

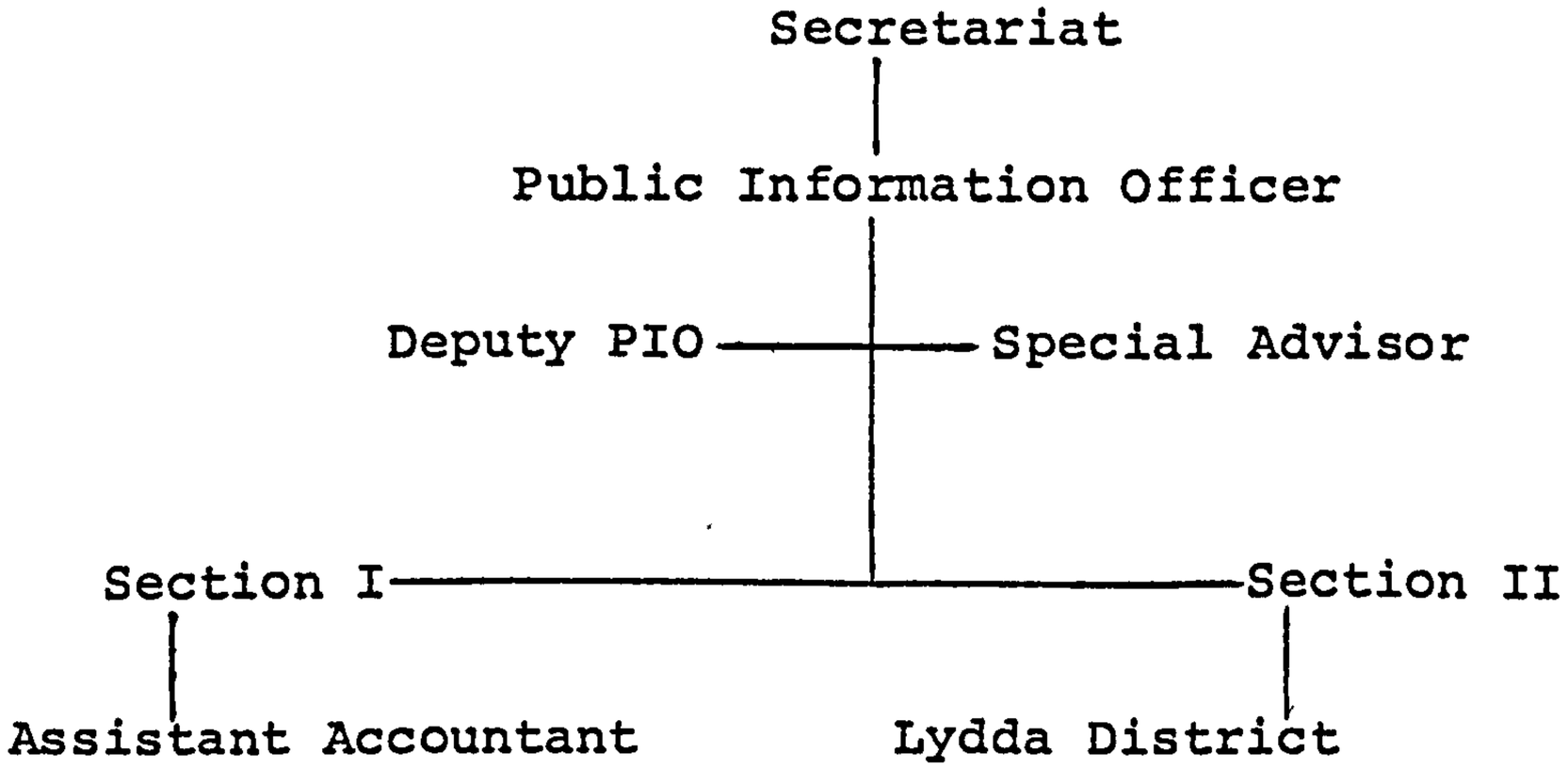


Notes:
1. The principal legislative body, consisting of: the High Commissioner, the Chief Secretary, the Attorney-General, and the Financial Secretary.
2. The legislative review body, consisting of: the Executive Council, the heads of some government departments, and the District Commissioners.
3. The government departments and the civil service, under the direction of the Chief Secretary.
4. The executive authority in six districts, 16 sub-districts and 24 municipalities. District Commissioners, Assistant District Commissioners, and District Officers coordinate the activities and functions of civil government

---

*Source: Government of Palestine, Survey, I, pp. 1, 3-10, 17, 108-13; HC[5479], 159, BPP (1937).

Figure 2. The Public Information Office*



Note: British Assistant PIO's directed the Press Section, Lydda District, and Publications and Distribution. Palestinians ran Technical Services and Rural Relations.

---

*Source: Ryan to Middle East Division, Ministry of Information, 13 Aug. 1945, INF 1/430; see also Chapter VII.

APPENDIX II

THE DEFENCE (EMERGENCY) REGULATIONS, 1945*

Note: This is only a partial list, but it describes clearly the powers at the disposal of the security forces.

Military Court Offences: (offences tried only before military courts)

Regulation 58(1) - discharging firearms, throwing or depositing bombs or grenades, unlawfully carrying firearms, ammunition, or explosives. The death penalty may be awarded only for offences under this regulation.

59(1) - unlawful possession of any firearm, bomb, or explosive.

61 - unlawfully wearing the uniform of H.M. Forces, Police, or Arab Legion, or dress or equipment likely to be mistaken for the above.

63 - training or drilling of persons, receiving or being present at such training or drilling.

64 - sabotage, of any means of transport or communications.

Powers of Any Member of H.M. Forces:

Regulation 72(1) - to arrest without warrant any person committing or reasonably suspected of having committed an offence against the Defence (Emergency) Regulations.

74 - to seize, or detain, any goods or things in relation to an offence.

---

*Source: HQ Palestine, 'OI no. 21', 27 Oct. 1945, WO 169/19745; HQ 21 Area, 'OI no. 21', 21 Nov. 1945, WO 169/19821.

75 - to enter or board and search any premises, place, vehicle, vessel or aircraft reasonably suspected of being or having been used for any purpose prejudicial to the public safety.

76 - to detain and search any person suspected of using or carrying any article liable to seizure under Regulation 74 above.

132(1) - to arrest and detain pending enquiries any person suspected of having acted or being about to act in a manner prejudicial to the public safety, provided that person has failed to satisfy him as to his identity or as to his purpose in the place where he is found.

Offences under Regulation 72(1):

Regulation 85 - being a member of, or having association with, an unlawful association. N.B. "An unlawful association is a body of persons which encourages the overthrow of the Government of Palestine and performs acts of terrorism; destruction of Government property and inciting disaffection against H.M. Government. The specific offences include--attending or permitting a meeting, having documents of the association, and collecting or demanding donations on behalf of the association."

96 - publishing any notice, proclamation, etc., without a permit from the District Commissioner.

105 - illegal immigration.

109 - disobedience of a restriction order made by a Military Commander.

130 - contravening the High Commissioner's orders concerning restricted use of telephones.

134 - performing any acts falsely suggesting that he or any other person is acting in service of H.M. Government, the Police, or undertaking the performance of essential services.

136 - illegal possession of information in respect of armaments, or dispositions of H.M. Forces.

139 - injury, etc. to public buildings, communications, or essential public supply services.

140 - obstruction of any member of H.M. Forces or Police officer in the course of duties.

142 - endeavouring to influence public opinion in a manner likely to be prejudicial to public safety.

144 - failure to furnish or produce information or articles in possession on direction by the District Commissioner or Military Commander.

Powers of Military Commanders:

Regulation 109(1) - to prohibit any person from being in any specified area in Palestine; to require any person to notify the Military Commander of his movements; to prohibit or restrict possession of any specified articles by any person; to impose restrictions on any person regarding his employment, business association, communications with other persons, and on his activities in relation to dissemination of news or propaganda.

110(1) - to place any person under police supervision for up to one year.

111(1) - to detain without trial any person for up to one year.

115(2) - to requisition, or to continue requisition of any chattel.

116(2) - to prohibit or restrict specified works on any land.

119(1) - to order forfeiture or demolition of any house, structure, or land from which it is suspected firearms have been discharged, bombs thrown, or have been party to any offence against the Defence (Emergency) Regulations.

121 - to billet the police on inhabitants of any area who have failed to render all reasonable assistance to the Forces or Police in securing public safety.

122(1) - to prohibit, restrict, or regulate the use of roads; to require persons owning or having control of vehicles to use the vehicle for conveyance of any specified goods to and from any specified place; to prohibit persons or any class of persons from travel in any form of transport.

124 - to impose a curfew.

125 - to declare any area or place to be a closed area.

129(1) - to order the opening or closing of shops and business premises.

137(1) - to prohibit, restrict, and regulate the buying and selling of firearms, ammunition, and explosives; to direct all persons having firearms, etc., to keep them in an approved place; to cancel, or suspend any licence to carry a firearm.

(3) - to grant to any person a licence to carry a firearm.

144(1) - to direct any person to furnish or produce any information or article in their possession.

<u>Powers of District Commissioners</u>:

Regulation 94(2) - to prohibit publication of a newspaper.

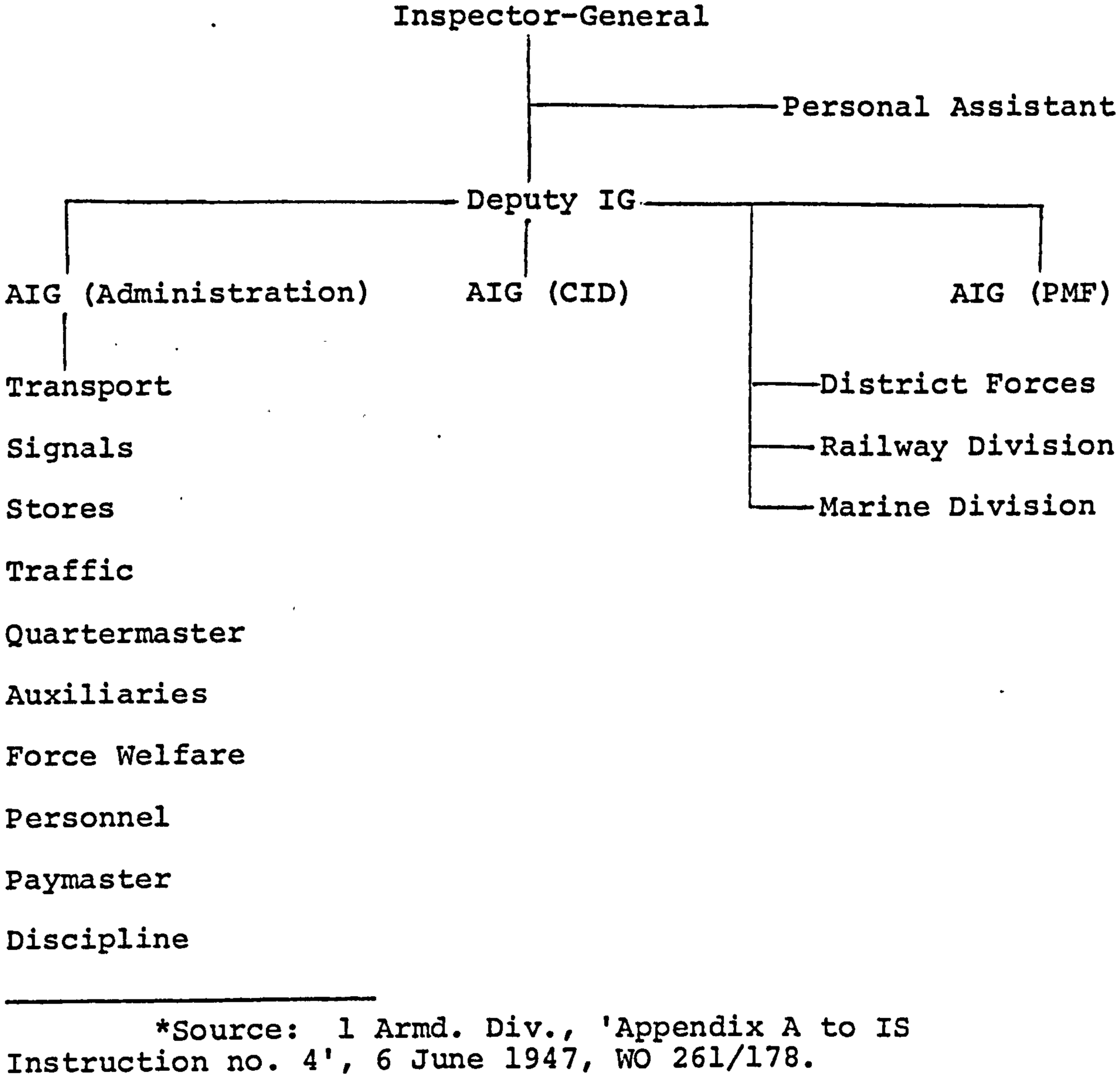
96(1) - to permit or prohibit publication of any notice, proclamation, etc.

114(1) - to take possession or retain possession of any land previously taken under Regulation 48 of the Defence Regulations, 1939.

Note: The District Commissioner has the same power as the Military Commander under Regulations 115(2) and 144(1).

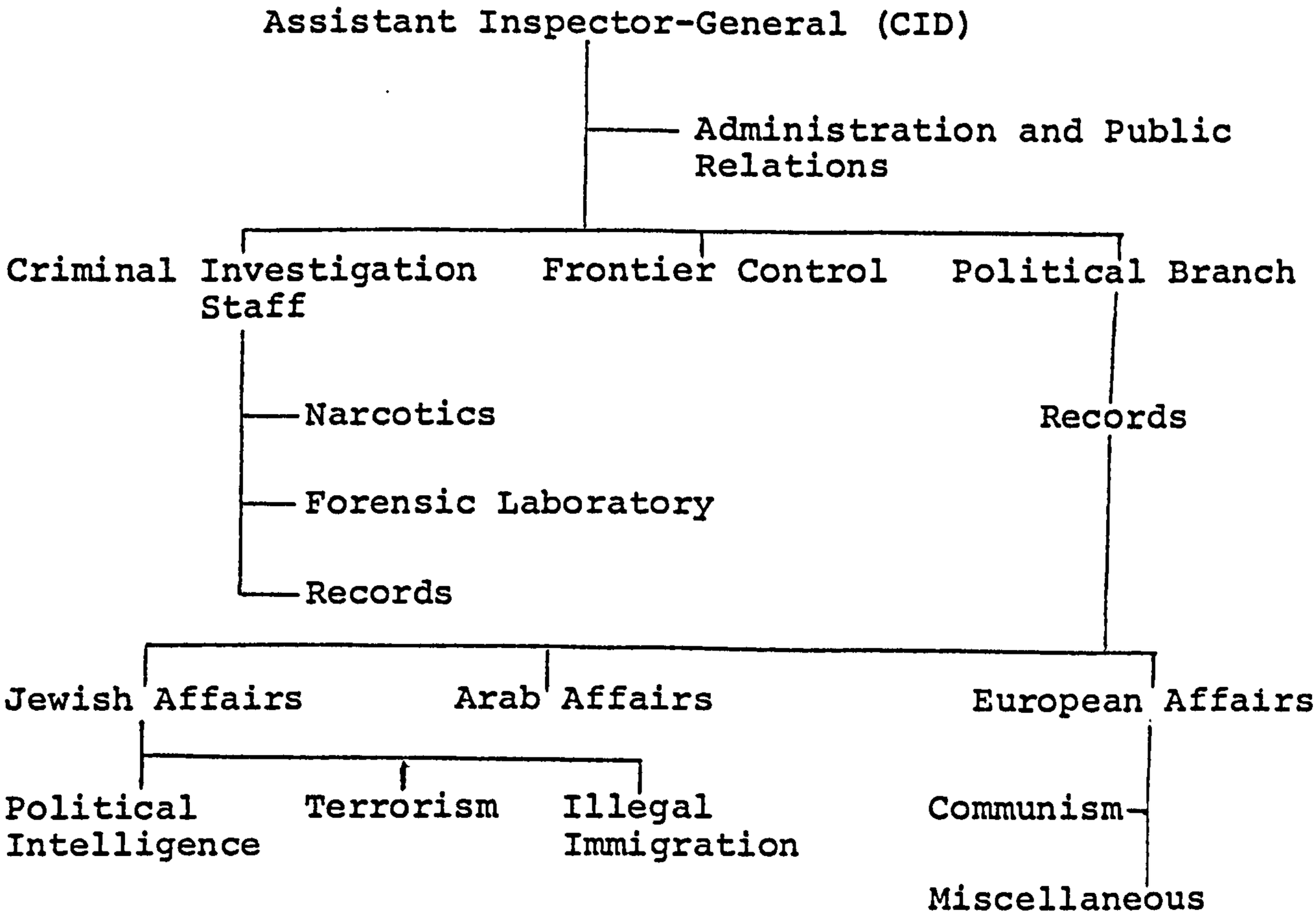
APPENDIX III
THE PALESTINE POLICE FORCE

Figure 1. The Organization of the Palestine Police*



*Source: 1 Armd. Div., 'Appendix A to IS Instruction no. 4', 6 June 1947, WO 261/178.

Figure 2. The Criminal Investigation Department*



*Source: John Briance, interview with author, 3 Mar. 1977.

APPENDIX IV

THE BRITISH ARMY IN PALESTINE

Figure 1. Forces Deployed with Effect from 1 Nov. 1945*

North Sector:	1st Infantry Division, consisting: three infantry brigades of three battalions; two armoured regiments; five artillery regiments; five infantry battalions under command; Cavalry Regiment, Trans-Jordan Frontier Force; Mechanized Regiment, Arab Legion; divisional troops.
East Sector:	185th Infantry Brigade, consisting: three infantry battalions and one independent company.
South Sector:	6th Airborne Division, consisting: two parachute and one airlanding Brigades of three battalions; two armoured regiments; three artillery regiments; three infantry battalions under command; divisional troops.

Source: WO 169/19656, 19685, 19697, 19699, 19701, 19703, 19705, 19706, 19717.

Figure 2. Forces Deployed with Effect from 6 Aug. 1947*

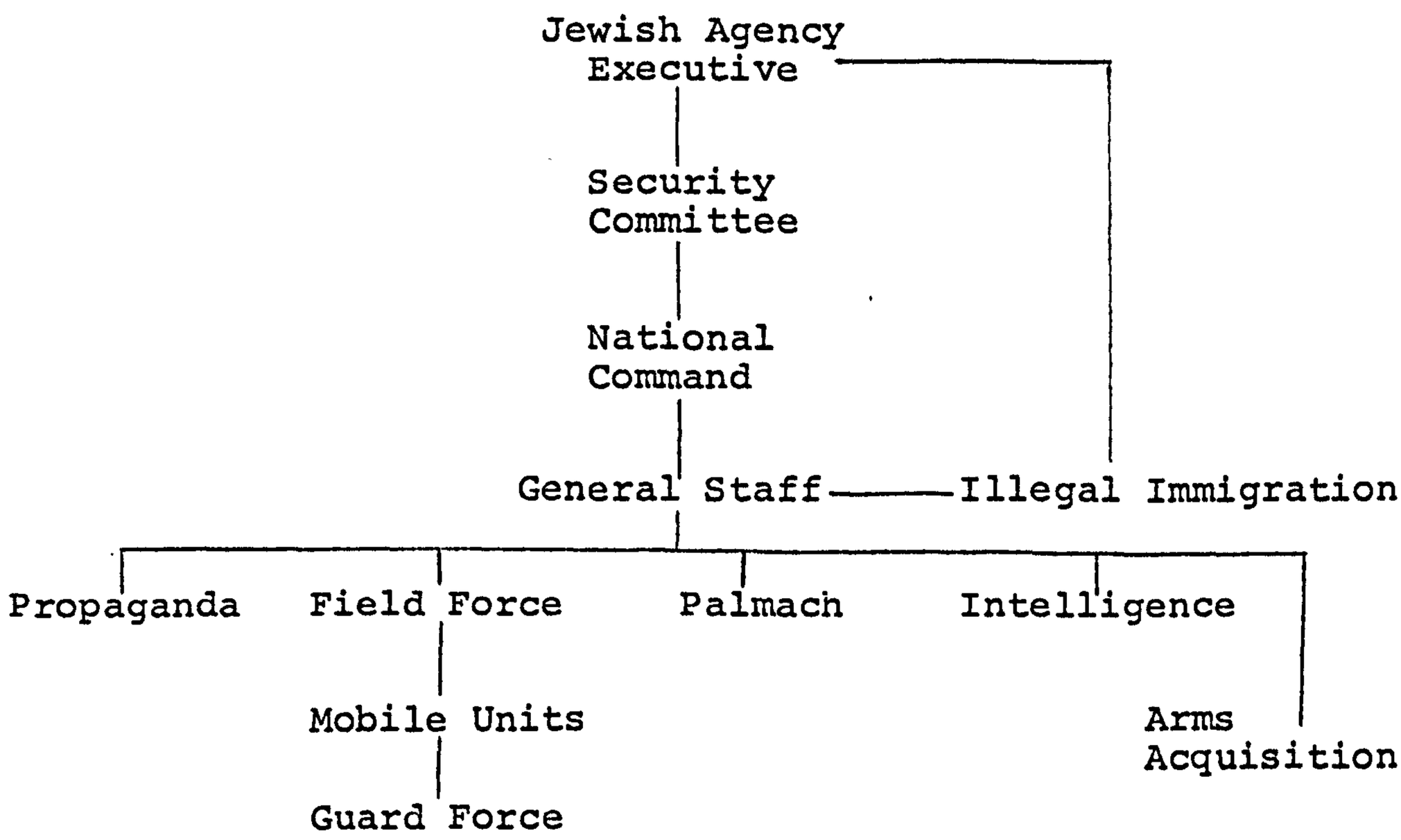
North Sector:	6th Airborne Division, consisting: two parachute brigades of three battalions; two armoured regiments; two artillery regiments; divisional troops.
Central Sector:	1st Infantry Division, consisting: two infantry brigades of three battalions; two armoured regiments; three artillery regiments; four infantry battalions under command; divisional troops.
South Sector:	1st Armoured Division, consisting: one armoured brigade of four armoured regiments and one infantry battalion; one infantry brigade of three battalions and one armoured regiment; five artillery regiments; divisional troops.
Jerusalem:	8th Infantry Brigade, consisting: three infantry battalions.

---

*Source: 'Appreciation by GOC Palestine', 5 Aug. 1947, MacMillan Papers.

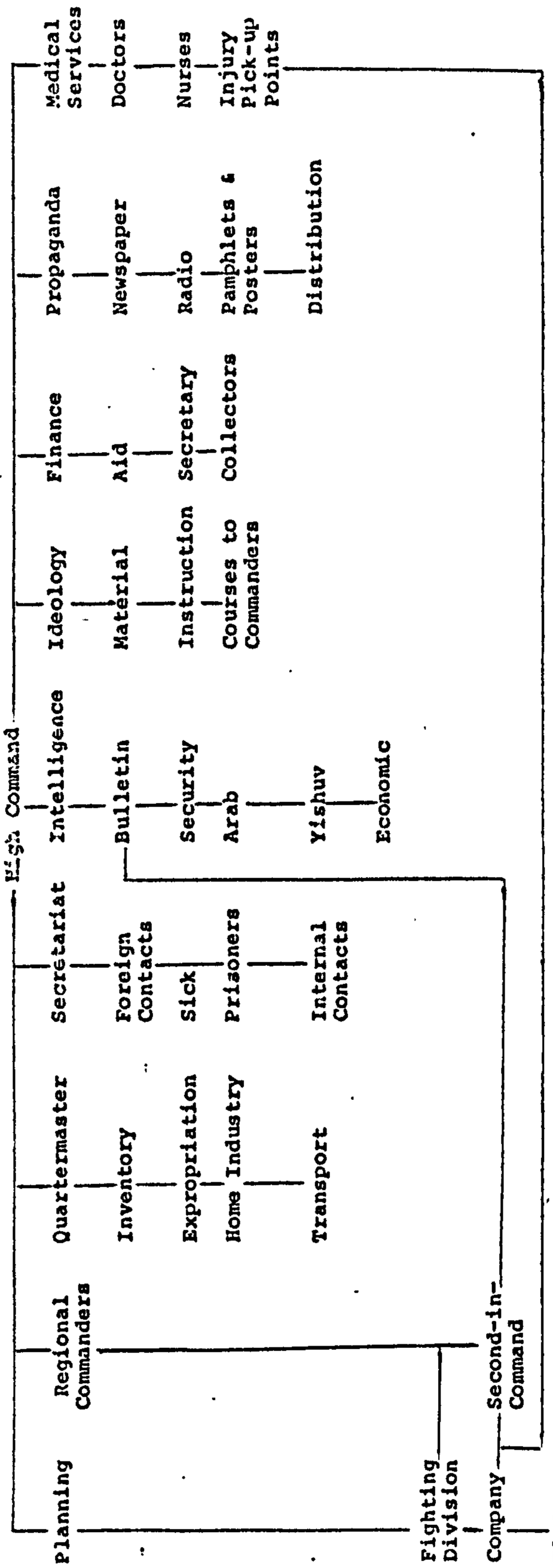
APPENDIX V
INSURGENT ORGANIZATIONS

Figure 1. The Haganah*



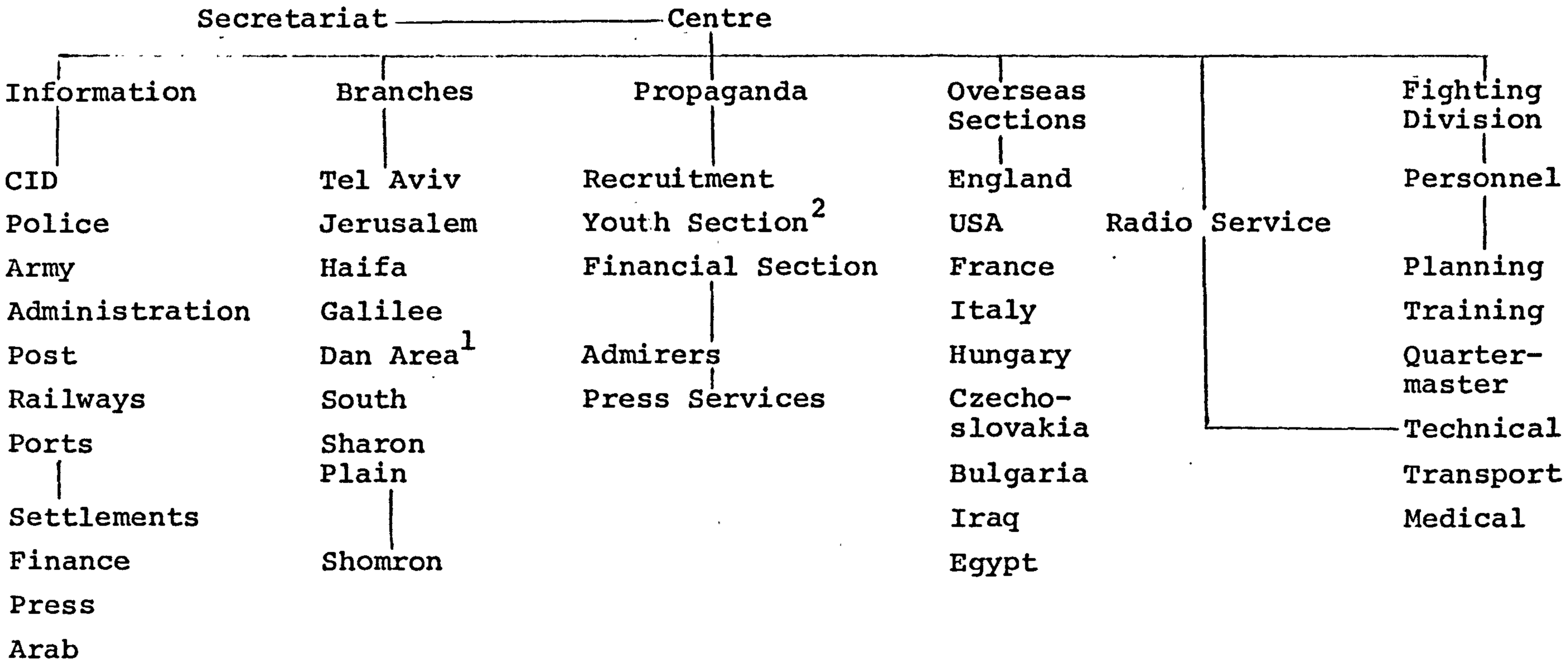
*Source: HC[6873], 2, BPP (1946); Bauer, 'Rommel's Threat of Invasion', pp. 225-6.

Figure 2. The Irgun Zvai Leumi*



*Source: Extracted and translated from David Niv, History of the Irgun Zvai Leumi (Tel Aviv, 1968) (in Hebrew) by Yisrael Medad, National Studies Institute, Jerusalem, 1978.

Figure 3. The Lochmei Heruth Israel*



Notes: 1. Area around Tel Aviv proper.

2. Includes recruitment, ideological and military training, and distribution of posters and newspapers.

---

*Source: Extracted and translated from Y. Banai, Chayalim Almonim (Tel Aviv, 1958), by Yisrael Medad, 1978.

APPENDIX VI

INSURGENT OPERATIONS IN PALESTINE*

Date	Location	Details
1945		
31 Oct.	across Palestine	widespread damage to railway; some damage to oil refineries; two police launches damaged, one sunk; 13 casualties to security forces, railway staff (Haganah, Palmach, Irgun, Lechi).
? Nov.	Haifa	theft of five tons of nitrate from chemical firm (Irgun).
23 Nov.	Ras El Ain	major theft of arms from RAF camp.
25 Nov.	Givat Olga	attack on coastguard station; four policemen wounded (Haganah).
	Sidna Ali	attack on police post; 10 policemen wounded (Haganah).
1 Dec.	Tel Aviv	textile robbery.
17 Dec.	Tel Aviv	abortive diamond robbery.
27 Dec.	Jerusalem	CID HQ badly damaged by bomb; 22 security forces casualties (Irgun and Lechi).
	Jaffa	CID HQ partially destroyed (Irgun and Lechi).
	Tel Aviv	abortive arms theft at army workshops; one insurgent killed.

*Source: CO 537/2281; CO 733/456; FO 371/52563, 52565-6; WO 261/171, 181; 'Jewish Terrorist Outrages Since His Excellencies Arrival in Palestine', 1947, Cunningham Papers, V/4; 1 Inf. Div., 'Report on Operation ELEPHANT', Moore Papers.

Note: Unless otherwise specified operations were carried out by Irgun and/or Lechi.

Date	Location	Details
1946		
12 Jan.	Hadera	£35,000 stolen from derailed train.
14 Jan.	Haifa	robbery of chemical firm.
19 Jan.	Jerusalem	abortive attack on prison and broadcasting studios; electric sub-station damaged; seven insurgent, six security force casualties (Irgun).
21 Jan.	Givat Olga	coastguard station destroyed, 17 soldiers wounded (Haganah).
	Mount Carmel	abortive attempt to blow up radar station (Haganah).
25 Jan.	Tel Aviv	theft of £6,000 worth of yarn.
29 Jan.	Aqir	abortive theft of arms from RAF station (Irgun).
3 Feb.	Tel Aviv	theft of small quantity of arms from RAF medical unit (Irgun).
5 Feb.	Safad	abortive attempt to rescue prisoners; one policeman wounded (Palmach).
6 Feb.	Agrobank	theft of arms and vehicle from army camp; three security force casualties (Lechi).
15 Feb.	Haifa	abortive attempt to assassinate DSP (Lechi).
16 Feb.	Beit Nabala	abortive attack on army camp.
19 Feb.	Mount Carmel	radar station destroyed; eight RAF personnel wounded (Haganah).
21 Feb.	Sarona, Kfar Vitkin, Shafr Amr	some damage to PMF camps at two latter locations; four insurgents killed, one policeman, two civilians injured (Palmach).
25 Feb.	Lydda, Petah Tiqva, Qastina	attacks on airfields destroy five aircraft, damage 17; four insurgents killed (Irgun and Lechi).
27 Feb.	near Safad	one policeman wounded in a shooting incident (Haganah).
6 Mar.	Sarafand	theft of arms from army camp; two insurgents wounded, nine captured; one soldier killed, one civilian wounded (Irgun).

Date	Location	Details
22 Mar.	near Sarona	assassination of German internee (Lechi).
25 Mar.	Tel Aviv, Sarona	one person killed in disturbances.
27 Mar.	Sukreir	abortive attack on railway station.
2 Apr.	railway	line cut at several locations; five bridges destroyed (Irgun).
7 Apr.	Yibna	shooting incident.
13 Apr.	Nathanya	theft of arms from RAF camp; bridge blown up; some soldiers wounded.
	?	abortive attempt to steal arms.
23 Apr.	Ramat Gan	theft of arms from police station; four insurgent, three security force casualties (Irgun).
	Tel Aviv	abortive attack on railway station (Irgun).
25 Apr.	Tel Aviv	seven soldiers killed; some arms stolen (Lechi).
1 May	Haifa	abortive attempt to blow up Royal Navy destroyer.
14 May	Tel Aviv	two jeeps stolen, one damaged in three attempts; two soldiers wounded.
15 May	railway	theft of 135,000 rounds of ammunition from train.
20 May	Nablus	theft of £6,200 from bank.
6 June	Jerusalem	rescue of captured leader from medical clinic (Lechi).
10 June	railway	four trains seriously damaged; three security force personnel wounded.
12 June	Tel Aviv	soldier stabbed, wounded.
14 June	Haifa	Arab District Officer wounded in assassination attempt (Lechi).
	same	bombing of Arab café; two civilians wounded.
16 June	across Palestine	11 bridges damaged or destroyed; eight insurgent, five security force casualties (Haganah and Palmach).

Date	Location	Details
17 June	Haifa	railway workshops seriously damaged; 11 insurgents killed, 15 captured (Lechi).
18 June	Tel Aviv, Jerusalem	kidnapping of six army officers (Irgun).
26 June	Tel Aviv ?	theft of £40,000 worth of diamonds.
4 July	Haifa	two Jews abducted and tortured as informers (Haganah).
22 July	Jerusalem	bombing of King David Hotel; 91 killed, 69 wounded (Irgun).
21 Aug.	Haifa	sabotage of British ship used for transshipment of illegal immigrants (Palmach).
8 Sept.	railway	some damage to communications.
	Haifa	sabotage of oil pipeline; one British casualty (Lechi).
	same	assassination of CID sergeant (Lechi).
9 Sept.	Tel Aviv	assassination of Area Security Officer; several other British casualties (Lechi).
	same	six soldiers wounded in shooting, mining incidents.
13 Sept.	Tel Aviv, Jaffa	three banks robbed, one police station attacked; seven security force and civilian casualties.
20 Sept.	Haifa	railway station blown up (Irgun).
23 Sept.	railway	attack on oil train; abortive attack on railway bridge; one guard killed.
30 Sept.	?	two British personnel casualties in separate attacks.
1 Oct.	Haifa	abortive attempt to blow up oil dock.
6 Oct.	Jerusalem	two RAF personnel shot, one killed.
8 Oct.	across Palestine	widespread road and rail mining, eight security force, civilian casualties.
17 Oct.	Jerusalem	assassination of police officer (Lechi).

Date	Location	Details
17 Oct.	across Palestine	widespread road mining, two army vehicles damaged, five security force casualties.
	?	café damaged by arson.
20 Oct.	Rishon Le Zion	army jeep blown up by mines, two casualties.
22 Oct.	railway	train derailed by mines.
24 Oct.	Jerusalem	army checkpoint bombed, one soldier killed, 10 wounded; police billet bombed.
26 Oct.	Hadera	army lorry blown up and bridge damaged.
29 Oct.	near Haifa	two army vehicles mined, two casualties.
30 Oct.	Jerusalem	two army, one civilian vehicle mined, fired on, 13 military, one civilian casualties.
	same	railway station blown up, one policeman killed (Irgun).
31 Oct.	Petah Tiqva	army lorry mined, two soldiers killed, two wounded.
	near Tel Aviv	police vehicle fired on.
	Haifa District	army lorry mined, one casualty.
1 Nov.	near Hadera	engine of goods train mined, slight damage to engine and bridge.
	?	army lorry blown up, four casualties.
2 Nov.	?	attacks on army lorries and bridges, 10 casualties.
3 Nov.	Qalqilya	train derailed by mine, staff slightly injured.
	same area	military vehicle detonated mine, no damage.
4 Nov.	south Palestine	abortive attempt to mine railway.
	near Tel Aviv	train derailed by mine, one train-man wounded.
	south Palestine	train detonated a mine, no damage

Date	Location	Details
5 Nov.	near Rishon Le Zion	civilian car blown up by mine, no casualties.
	near Qalqilya	oil train mined and fired on, some damage, no casulaties; nearby blockhouse fired on (Lechi).
6 Nov.	Kiryat Haim	abortive attempt to mine railway.
7 Nov.	Lydda District	troop train derailed by mines, no casualties.
9 Nov.	?	three policemen killed by booby-trap mine (Irgun).
10 Nov.	Ras El Ain	railway station blown up, four security force casualties (Irgun).
11 Nov.	near Qalqilya	railway damaged by mines at three locations.
13 Nov.	railway and roads	28 security force casualties from mines.
15 Nov.	near Benyamina	police rail trolley derailed by mine; three soldiers wounded.
17 Nov.	railway	two successful attempts to mine railway, two failures; two army casualties.
	near Sarona	10 security force casualties from road mine.
18 Nov.	railway	army rail trolley blown up, one casualty, second bomb found nearby.
19 Nov.	same	five army casualties from attempt to remove mine.
	Jerusalem	abortive attempt to blow up police vehicle; one civilian injured.
	Tel Aviv	assassination of Jewish policeman (Lechi).
	railway	two abortive attempts to mine railway.
20 Nov.	Jerusalem	Income Tax office destroyed by bomb; five security force casualties (Irgun).
	Tel Aviv	Jewish civilian shot by Jews, believed to be for political reasons.
22 Nov.	railway	section of line blown up.
25 Nov.	near Beit Dajan	two military vehicles fired on in separate incidents; one casualty.

Date	Location	Details
30 Nov.	Jerusalem	attack on police barracks, four casualties; roads mined.
2 Dec.	near Jerusalem	jeep blown up by mine; four soldiers killed.
	near Benyamina	jeep blown up by mine; four casualties.
3 Dec.	Tel Aviv	abortive attempt to rob welfare officer; two insurgent casualties.
	near Kfar Vitkin	jeep blown up by mine; two casualties.
	Haifa	jeep blown up by mines; one soldier killed.
5 Dec.	Sarafand	truck bomb exploded in military camp; 30 casualties (Lechi).
	Jerusalem	two insurgents killed in abortive car bombing (Lechi).
	same	policeman wounded in shooting attack on police barracks.
	same	abortive grenade attack on guards of GOC's residence.
	same	two bombs discovered at different locations.
17 Dec.	same	army detonated bomb found in Jerusalem hotel; little damage.
18 Dec.	same	insurgent killed in shooting incident.
26 Dec.	Tel Aviv, Nathanya	two diamond robberies.
29 Dec.	Tel Aviv, Rishon Le Zion, Nathanya	four soldiers abducted, flogged in three incidents (Irgun).
1947		
2 Jan.	Jerusalem	grenades thrown at two locations, no casualties.
	same	police patrol attacked with flame throwers, no casualties.
	same	abortive attempt to mine road.
	Hadera	one security force casualty in bombing, gunfire attack on army camp.

Date	Location	Details
2 Jan.	Kiryat Hayim	attack on army camp with bombs, gunfire (Irgun).
	near Haifa	army vehicle blown up by mine; five casualties.
	Haifa	two security force vehicles blown up by mine; no casualties.
	Tiberias	attack on military car park; no damage or casualties.
	Tel Aviv	gunfire, mortar attack on army headquarters and police barracks; four casualties (Irgun).
	Jaffa	attack on police headquarters (Irgun).
	near Hadera	abortive attempt to mine two jeeps.
	Tel Aviv	one policeman wounded in shooting attack on railway station.
	near Petah Tiqva	lorry blown up by mine; five soldiers wounded.
	same	jeep blown up by mine; three soldiers wounded.
	Tel Aviv	police vehicle blown up; two casualties.
	near Tel Aviv	taxi blown up by mine; policeman wounded.
3 Jan.	Lydda	two military vehicles blown up; six injured.
	near Wilhelma	military vehicle blown up; three casualties.
4 Jan.	Jerusalem	military vehicle blown up; three casualties.
	Haifa	military vehicle blown up; two casualties.
5 Jan.	Jerusalem, Haifa	military vehicles blown up by mines in two incidents; one casualty.
6 Jan.	Lydda	military vehicle blown up; no casualties.
12 Jan.	Haifa	bombing of District Police Headquarters; 104 casualties (Lechi).
23 Jan.	?	bank robbery.
26 Jan.	Jerusalem	judge, businessman kidnapped (Irgun).

Date	Location	Details
29 Jan.	near Athlit	textile robbery.
13 Feb.	Haifa	sabotage of two government vessels in harbour.
18 Feb.	Jerusalem	army lorry blown up by mine; five casualties.
	near Nathanya	army vehicle blown up by mine.
19 Feb.	Haifa	two army vehicles blown up by mines; no casualties.
	?	oil pipeline damaged by explosives.
	Ein Shemer	mortar attack on airfield.
	Aqir	abortive attempt to mine road.
28 Feb.	Haifa	bombing of shipping agency; seven casualties.
1 Mar.	Jerusalem	officers' club bombed; 29 casualties (Irgun).
	Beit Lid	two vehicles destroyed by mines.
	same	mortar and gunfire attack on army camp; four casualties.
	Haifa	four military vehicles damaged by bomb.
	same	army jeep mined; four casualties.
	near Haifa	army lorry mined.
	Rehovoth	two bombs exploded outside police station.
	same	army vehicle blown up; four casualties.
	Petah Tiqva	slight damage to vehicle from road mine.
	same	army vehicle blown up; two soldiers killed.
	Nathanya	army vehicle blown up.
	Kefar Yona	mortar and gunfire attack on army camp.
	Aqir	government vehicle mined.
2 Mar.	Near Hadera	army lorry mined; two casualties.
3 Mar.	Haifa	grenades thrown into army camp.
	Hadera	gunfire attack on army camp.

Date	Location	Details
4 Mar.	Ramle/Aqir road	RAF lorry blown up; four casualties.
	Rishon	army lorry blown up; three casualties.
5 Mar.	Jerusalem	armed robbery.
	Haifa	sentry post bombed.
	Jerusalem	one soldier wounded in grenade attack.
	same	shooting at sentries.
	Rehovoth	vehicle blown up; two casualties.
	Hadera	mortar and gunfire attack on army camp; three casualties.
6 Mar.	Ramle/Aqir road	shooting at RAF vehicle.
	near Benyamina	shooting at government vehicle.
7 Mar.	near Hadera	army vehicle blown up; four casualties.
	Rishon	shooting at police station.
	near Rishon	jeep fired on.
8 Mar.	Jerusalem	police vehicle fired on; two casualties.
	Haifa	grenades thrown into army camp.
	Jerusalem	grenades thrown into army camp; two casualties.
	Sarona	grenades thrown into army camp; three security force casualties.
	Jaffa	gunfire attack on police HQ.
	Tel Aviv	gunfire attack on army HQ; 20 insurgent casualties.
	same	gunfire attack on survey building.
10 Mar.	Ramat Gan	two army vehicles mined.
11 Mar.	Nathanya	government vehicle fired on; one security force casualty.
	Tulkarm	government vehicle fired on.
12 Mar.	Ein Shemer	gunfire, grenade attack on army camp.

Date	Location	Details
12 Mar.	Jerusalem	raid on government billet; nine army casualties, considerable damage.
	Rishon	two civilian vehicles mined.
	Sarona	army jeep mined, one casualty.
13 Mar.	Ras El Ain	oil train mined and derailed.
	Battir	goods train mined and derailed; two railway staff casualties.
	Tel Aviv	grenades thrown at jeep.
	Kefar Yona	gunfire, mortar attack on army camp.
	Haifa	three oil pipelines blown up.
14 Mar.	Be'er Ya'acov	railway mined.
15 Mar.	Hadera	army club set on fire by arsonists.
16 Mar.	Nathanya	gunfire attack on two army camps.
	Jerusalem	Jewish Agency public relations office bombed.
19 Mar.	Zichron Ya'acov	bomb thrown at security forces; seven casualties.
24 Mar.	Tel Aviv	bank robbery; £27,500 stolen, bank clerk wounded.
28 Mar.	near Ramle	security forces ambushed; two killed.
	Haifa	oil pipeline damaged by bomb.
31 Mar.	Haifa	sabotage of oil refinery; 16,000 tons of petroleum products destroyed (Lechi).
1 Apr.	near Nahariya	arms theft; one soldier killed.
	?	shooting incident; one policeman, two civilian casualties.
8 Apr.	Jerusalem	shooting incident; two police casualties.
18 Apr.	Tel Aviv	police vehicle attacked; six casualties.
	Nathanya	army medical post bombed; one casualty.

Date	Location	Details
20 Apr.	Nathanya	army cinema bombed; four casualties, extensive damage.
	Ramat Zev	military vehicle blown up by mine; four casualties.
22 Apr.	near Rehovoth	train blown up, fired on, derailed 13 casualties.
23 Apr.	near Lydda	two government vehicles blown up; four casualties.
24 Apr.	Tel Aviv	British civilian abducted (Irgun).
25 Apr.	Sarona	police barracks bombed; 10 casualties.
	Afula	bank robbery.
26 Apr.	Haifa	assassination of CID Superintendent (Lechi).
30 Apr.	near Jerusalem	abortive attempt to mine road.
4 May	Acre	prison escape.
12 May	Jerusalem	assassination of two policemen.
14 May	railway	seven incidents of sabotage.
	Jerusalem	abortive attempt to bomb military court building.
	Sarafand	army cinema bombed; two casualties.
16 May	Haifa	CID car damaged by bomb; four casualties.
19 May	same	assassination of policeman.
20 May	Tel Aviv	CID car damaged by mine.
	Fejja, Yehudiyee	insurgent attack on two Arab villages; one insurgent, nine Arab casualties.
27 May	Ramle	railway station blown up; one casualty.
	railway	two explosions; no damage.
28 May	Haifa	oil dock slightly damaged by bombs; one casualty.
3 June	Jerusalem	bombing of military compound.
4 June	railway	two trains derailed by mines in separate incidents; one casualty.

Date	Location	Details
5 June	Athlit	railway station bombed; extensive damage.
	?	oil pipeline cut by explosion.
9 June	Ramat Gan	two policemen kidnapped; recovered later.
18 June	Tel Aviv	abortive attempt to blow up army HQ (Irgun).
22 June	Jerusalem	abortive attempt to kidnap senior police officer (Irgun).
25 June	same	abortive attempt to kidnap government official (Irgun).
28 June	Haifa	shooting attack on soldiers; three casualties (Lechi).
	Tel Aviv	shooting attack on soldiers; four casualties (Lechi).
29 June	Herzliyia	shooting attack on soldiers; three casualties (Lechi).
12 July	Nathanya	two soldiers abducted (Irgun).
15 July	Tel Litwinsky	Jewish policeman assassinated.
16 July	Jerusalem	two military vehicles damaged by mines; two casualties.
	near Hadera	army car mined.
	Petah Tiqva	army lorry mined; four casualties.
	same	army jeep mined; two casualties.
18 July	Jerusalem	gunfire attack on military vehicle; three casualties.
	same	grenade thrown at military post; one casualty.
	same	police vehicle set on fire by bomb.
	Kefar Bilu	army lorry mined; four casualties.
19 July	Haifa	two policemen assassinated.
	Jerusalem	incendiary bombs thrown at two police vehicles; one casualty.
20 July	railway	abortive attempt to mine railway.
	same	train mined; slight damage.
	same	goods train mined; slight damage.
	same	oil train mined.

Date	Location	Details
20 July	Jerusalem	policeman wounded in shooting.
	same	two police vehicles mined; five casualties.
	Gan Menashe	military vehicle mined; four casualties.
	Nathanya	army car fired on.
	Tel Litwinsky	gunfire, mortar attack on army camp.
21 July	Haifa	gunfire, grenade attack on army camp.
	same	attack on military installation; radio equipment damaged.
	same	oil pipeline slightly damaged by bomb.
	same	military vehicle blown up; two casualties.
	near Afula	oil pipeline damaged by two bombs.
	?	soldier fired on.
	near Hadera	army lorry mined.
22 July	Haifa	army vehicle mined; one casualty.
	Jerusalem	shooting at RAF vehicle; one casualty.
	same	fire bombs thrown at RAF, police vehicles.
	same	attack on police barracks; general firing throughout city.
23 July	Haifa	military vehicle mined; four casualties.
	same	bombing of army billet; one casualty.
	same	bombing of military car park; three casualties.
	near Haifa	military vehicle mined; seven casualties.
	near Beit Lid	army jeep mined; four casualties.
	near Rishon Le Zion	army lorry mined; seven casualties.
24 July	Tel Aviv	diamond robbery.
	Jerusalem	shooting at officers' mess.

Date	Location	Details
24 July	Jerusalem	bombing of military vehicle; three casualties.
	same	police car mined; one casualty.
	?	railway bridge damaged by bomb.
25 July	Haifa	abortive attempt to mine road.
	Jerusalem	two explosions in open ground.
26 July	?	two soldiers killed by mine.
	railway	abortive attempt to mine railway.
	same	same.
27 July	near Jaffa	railway trolley mined; two casualties.
	Jerusalem	gunfire, grenade attack on military convoy; two casualties.
28 July	near Rehovoth	abortive attempt to mine military convoy.
	Sarafand	abortive arson attempt at army camp.
	Jerusalem	shooting at police vehicle.
	Tel Litwinsky	bombing of cinema; three casualties.
29 July	Nathanya	two soldiers (kidnapped 12 July) hanged by Irgun.
	near Haifa	military post destroyed by bomb.
	Jerusalem	grenade thrown at police vehicle.
	near Athlit	railway considerably damaged by mine.
30 July	Jerusalem	abortive mining.
	near Nathanya	military vehicle mined; five casualties.
31 July	near Zichron Ya'acov	train mined; considerable damage.

Statistical Analysis of Insurgent Operations

1. Monthly Rate of Operations

1945 -	November	4
	December	5
1946 -	January	7
	February	13
	March	4
	April	11
	May	6
	June	24
	July	2
	August	1
	September	13
	October	19
	November	35
	December	18
1947 -	January	29
	February	8
	March	58
	April	15
	May	19
	June	12
	July	60

Total 363

Average: 17.285 incidents per month

United Resistance: 77 incidents (excluding the incidents of 31 Oct. 1945)

2. Location of Insurgent Operations

a)	Jerusalem	58
b)	Tel Aviv	34
c)	Haifa	47
d)	Lydda District[1]	69
e)	Other	155

3. Types of Insurgent Operations (successful and abortive)

a)	Assassinations	26
b)	Other shooting incidents	31
c)	Bombings	87
d)	Mining incidents	119
e)	Robberies	32
f)	Kidnappings	14
g)	Other (including raids, mortar attacks)	54

4. Targets of Insurgent Operations

a)	Security forces	212
b)	Government	16
c)	Railway	67
d)	Oil industry	12
e)	Other	56

---

[1]Note: Apart from Tel Aviv (listed and counted separately), Lydda District includes the following major towns: Jaffa; Petah Tiqva; Ramat Gan; Rehovoth; Rishon Le Zion; Sarafand; Tel Litwinsky.

APPENDIX VII

SECURITY FORCE SEARCH OPERATIONS*

Date	Location	Formations	Results
1945			
23 Nov.	north of Tel Aviv	company and police	nil.
25-27 Nov.	Rishpon	two brigades with units under command	29 arrested, two killed, 16 wounded.
	Shefayim	same	
	Hogla	same	
26 Nov.	Givat Hayim	one brigade plus	10 wounded, 100 arrested.
28 Dec.	Jerusalem	battalion plus and PMF	26 detained for one month.
	Ramat Gan	battalion and police	59 detained for questioning.
1946			
1 Jan.	Jerusalem	elements of two battalions and PMF	six suspected insurgents arrested.
3 Jan.	same	four platoons and PMF	six detained.
4 Jan.	Tel Aviv	company and police	nil.
7 Jan.	Rishon Le Zion	four bat-talions and police	55 detained, including one known insurgent.
8 Jan.	Jerusalem	CID and army	equipment and documents seized.

*Source: WO 169/19656-23228; WO 261/171-219; CO 733/456; Pyman Diaries, 6/1/8; Wilson, Cordon and Search, pp. 230-8. Search operations involving units of less than a platoon are not listed, owing to insufficient data.

Date	Location	Formations	Results
13 Jan.	Yemini	brigade with units under command	16 arrested, equipment and documents seized.
17 Jan.	Jerusalem	army	nil.
20-24 Jan.	same	army and police	47 detained, large quantity of arms and explosives seized, valuable intelligence gained, in six searches.
22 Jan.	Hadera	brigade with units under command	27 arrested.
24 Jan.	Tel Aviv	battalion and police	nil.
29 Jan.	Jerusalem	platoon and police	two detained.
30 Jan.	same	army, police and PMF	nil.
	Tel Aviv	brigade and police	11 detained.
31 Jan.	Jerusalem	platoon plus and police	one detained, some equipment seized.
5 Feb.	Jib Yousef	company and police	nil.
6 Feb.	Tel Aviv ?	company and PMF	nil.
7 Feb.	Rosh Pinna	elements of brigade and police	nil.
	Safad	same	nil.
11 Feb.	Rosh Pinna	battalion and police	nil.
13 Feb.	same	same	nil.
	Tiberias	same	nil.
15 Feb.	Haifa	brigade and police	six arrested, equipment seized.
18 Feb.	Tel Aviv	elements of battalion and police	20 arrested, weapons and equipment seized in capture of Lechi transmitter.

Date	Location	Formations	Results
22 Feb.	Kfar Vitkin	company and police	nil.
28 Feb.	Birya	brigade and police	25 arrested, two arms caches and documents seized.
	Ein Zetim	same	nil.
	Jerusalem	elements of brigade	large arms cache seized.
6 Mar.	Sarafand area	elements of division	nil.
3 Apr.	south of Rehovoth	elements of battalion and PMF	some suspects detained in two settlement searches.
25 Apr.	Tel Aviv	two battalions plus and PMF	79 detained and equipment seized.
5 May	Jerusalem	platoon, PMF and police	nil.
17 June	across Palestine	all army units and police	one large arms cache seized in large number of searches.
18 June	Tel Aviv	battalion plus	nil.
	Jerusalem	police	nil.
19 June	Kfar Giladi	brigade	nil; two killed, seven wounded.
20 June	Beerot Yitshaq	same	nil.
22 June	southern Palestine	brigade and police	nil.
24 June	south of Rehovoth	battalion and police	arms and ammunition seized, seven detained.
25 June	same	company	four arrested, some arms and ammunition seized.
26 June	same	battalion	nil.
29-30 June	across Palestine	all formations	700 detained, large quantities of arms, equipment, documents seized in 18 separate searches.

Date	Location	Formations	Results
23 July	Jerusalem	two battalions	46 detained.
30 July-2 Aug.	Tel Aviv	division plus units under command	787 detained, large arms cache seized.
26 Aug.	Sedot Yam	brigade	?
28 Aug.-2 Sept.	Dorot, Ruhama	two battalions	large quantities of arms seized at both locations.
10 Sept.	Ramat Gan	brigade	47 detained for questioning.
	Sedot Yam, Heftsi Bah	same	?
13 Sept.	Tel Aviv, Jaffa	same	27 detained.
23 Sept.	near Petah Tiqva	battalion ?	small quantity of arms seized.
3 Oct.	Kfar Bilu	battalion	nil.
9 Oct.	Nathanya	same	four arrested, small quantity of arms seized.
16 Oct.	south of Tel Aviv	two platoons and police	nil.
18 Oct.	Tel Aviv	company and police	one arrested.
21 Oct.	Petah Tiqva	company	?
23 Oct.	same	battalion	one suspected insurgent arrested.
	Rehovoth	company	four detained for questioning.
31 Oct.	Tel Aviv	four platoons	some equipment seized.
	Petah Tiqva	two companies	nil.
30 Dec.	same	brigade plus units under command	19 detained, small arms cache seized.
	south of Nathanya	brigade plus	24 arrested.
31 Dec.	Rishon Le Zion	battalion plus	18 detained.

Date	Location	Formations	Results
1947			
1 Jan.	Tel Aviv	brigade plus	47 arrested.
2 Jan.	Rehovoth	same	19 detained, some arms seized.
3 Jan.	Lydda area	brigade	34 arrested.
	Jerusalem	same	30 detained, small quantity of equipment seized.
26 Jan.	same	company	nil.
27 Jan.	same	battalion	nil.
	Petah Tiqva	brigade	nil.
29 Jan.	same	company and police	?
	Rishon	same	?
	Tel Aviv	platoon and CID	?
30 Jan.	Jerusalem	battalion and police	?
	same	same	?
2 Mar.	same	battalion	11 detained.
7 Mar.	Rehovoth	brigade plus	12 detained.
	Hadera	brigade	six detained, including one suspected insurgent.
	Nathanya	same	two detained.
17 Mar.	near Rishon Le Zion	brigade plus	five detained.
22 Mar.	Jerusalem	battalion	arms and explosives seized.
28 Mar.	same	company plus	two detained.
4-5 May	Acre area	brigade	four separate searches, no results.
6 May-11 July	across Palestine	variable	46 separate search operations, results undetermined.
12 July	Nathanya	?	nil.

Date	Location	Formations	Results
12-13 July	Nathanya area	brigade	nil.
15 July	Nathanya	same	18 detained, including three suspected insurgents.
16 July	same	battalion	nil.
17-18 July	same	same	nil.
19-26 July	same	same	nil.

Total Number of Search Operations: 176 plus.

At least 44 searches, or 25%, produced no results. Of these, 31 were carried out by battalions or larger formations.

Statistical Analysis of Security Force Search Operations

1. Monthly Rate of Operations:

1945 -	November	-	5
	December	-	2
1946 -	January	-	19
	February	-	13
	March	-	1
	April	-	3
	May	-	1
	June	-	27 plus
	July	-	2
	August	-	3
	September	-	6
	October	-	9
	November	-	0
	December	-	3
1947 -	January	-	12
	February	-	0
	March	-	7
	April	-	0
	May-July	-	63

2. Location of Search Operations:

a)	Jerusalem	- 27
b)	Tel Aviv	- 14
c)	Haifa	- 1
d)	Lydda District (less Tel Aviv)	- 32
e)	Other/undetermined	- 102 plus

3. Size of Search Operations:

a)	Division	-	2
b)	Brigade or larger	-	38
c)	Battalion or larger	-	55
d)	Company or larger	-	19
e)	Platoon or larger	-	5
f)	Other/undetermined	-	58

APPENDIX VIII

THE COST OF INTERNAL SECURITY

1. The Human Cost*

Casualties Sustained from August 1945 to August 1947:

	Killed	Wounded	Total
a) British	141	475	616
b) Jewish - 1) Insurgents	40	23	63
2) Others	25	115	140
c) Arabs	44	287	331
d) Others	10	12	22
Totals	260	912	1172

*Source: High Commissioner to British Embassy, Washington, 18 Sept. 1947, CO 537/477. Of these casualties, 1,089 occurred between 31 Oct. 1945 and 31 July 1947.

2. The Financial Cost*

a) Palestine Government

	Expenditures 1945/47	Estimates 1947/48
1) Police and Security	£9,206,179	£5,700,000
2) Damage to Railway	304,981[1]	255,019[2]
3) Internment of Illegal Immigrants in Cyprus	2,200,000[3]	900,000
4) Evacuation and Cantonment		300,000
5) Compensation for King David Hotel Incident		400,000
6) Repairs to buildings damaged by terrorism		500,000[4]
7) Compensation to Shell Oil Company for damage from terrorism		400,000
Totals	£11,711,160	£8,455,019
Revenue for period	£44,737,774	n.a.[5]
Percentage expenditure on Internal Security	26%	n.a.

b) British Government

1) Expenditures on Armed Forces in Palestine, 1 July 1945 to 31 Jan. 1947: £55,600,000 (Army: £48,000,000)

2) Estimate for Calendar Year 1947: £23,500,000 (Army: £21,000,000)

Notes:
1. Total cost of damage to 31 Mar. 1947.
2. Deficit charged against next Fiscal Year owing to damage and loss of revenue in 1946/47.
3. Total cost to 31 Mar. 1947.
4. Cost of repairs undertaken for damage incurred in 1946/47.
5. No figures available.

---

*Source: CO 537/2279; CO 814/17, 40; FO 371/61770, 61941.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Manuscript Collections:

Alanbrooke, Field Marshal Viscount. Private Papers, King's College, London.

Briance, John. Private Papers, Briance residence, London.

Creech-Jones, Arthur. Private Papers, Rhodes House Library, Oxford.

Cunningham, General Sir Alan. Private Papers, St. Antony's College, Oxford.

Liddell Hart, Sir Basil. Private Papers, King's College, London.

MacMillan of MacMillan, General Sir Gordon. Private Papers, Imperial War Museum, London.

Monroe, Elizabeth. Private Papers, St. Antony's College, Oxford.

Moore, General Sir Rodney. Private Papers, Moore residence, Hampton Court Palace, Surrey.

Palestine Statehood Committee Papers. Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

Papers of the British Cabinet Office. Public Record Office, Kew, Middlesex.

Papers of the British Colonial Office. Public Record Office, Kew, Middlesex.

Papers of the British Foreign Office. Public Record Office, Kew, Middlesex.

Papers of the British Ministry of Information. Public Record Office, Kew, Middlesex.

Papers of the British War Office. Public Record Office, Kew, Middlesex.

Pyman, Major-General H. E. Private Papers, King's College, London.

Published Collections:

Churchill, Sir Winston Leonard Spencer. Winston S. Churchill: His Complete Speeches, 1897-1963. Vol. VII. Robert Rhodes James (ed.). London and New York: Chelsea House, 1974.

Fighters for the Freedom of Israel. LHI-Bulletin. Palestine, 1947.

Fighters for the Freedom of Israel. An Outline of Foreign Policy. Jerusalem, 1947.

Government of Palestine. A Survey of Palestine: Memorandum Submitted to the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry by the Government of Palestine. London, 1946.

Hansard's Parliamentary Debates (Commons). 5th Series. Vols. CDXV, CDXXII, CDXXV, CLXXIV. London: 1945-47.

Hansard's Parliamentary Debates (Lords). Vol. CXLVII. London: 1947.

House of Commons Command Paper number 3530, 'Report of the Royal Commission on Palestine Disturbances of August 1929'. British Parliamentary Papers, Session 1930.

House of Commons Command Paper number 5479, 'Report of the Palestine Royal Commission'. British Parliamentary Papers, Session 1937.

House of Commons Command Paper number 6019, 'Palestine: Statement of Policy'. British Parliamentary Papers, Session 1939.

House of Commons Command Paper number 6808, 'Report of the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry Regarding the Problems of European Jewry and Palestine'. British Parliamentary Papers, Session 1946.

House of Commons Command Paper number 6873, 'Palestine: Statement of Information Relating to Acts of Violence'. British Parliamentary Papers, Session 1946.

The Public Papers of the Presidents: Harry S. Truman, 1945-1946. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961-63.

United States Congress, House of Representatives. Congressional Record, 79th Congress, 2nd Session, 1946, Vol. XCII.

Correspondence with the Author:

Ballantrae, Brigadier The Lord, 20 July 1978.
Barker, General Sir Evelyn, 30 August 1976.
Cassels, Field Marshal Sir James, 27 November 1976.
Charteris, The Rt. Hon. Sir Martin, 9 November 1976.
Farran, The Hon. Roy, 17 August 1978.
Harris, Mr. Monte, 18 February 1978.
Medad, Mr. Yisrael, 31 October 1978.
Nimrod, Mr. Dan, 12 December 1978.
White, Mr. K. M., 8 February 1979.

Interviews with the Author:

Bols, General Eric L., 28 July 1976.
Bower, Lieutenant-General Sir Roger, 27 May 1976.
Bredin, Major-General H. E. N., 28 June 1976.
Briance, Mr. John, 26 May 1976, 3 March 1977.
Catling, Sir Richard, 28 May 1976.
Clifton, Lieutenant-Colonel Peter, 26 June 1976.
Crookenden, Lieutenant-General Sir Napier, 9 June 1976.
Dannatt, Miss J. S. M., 17 January 1978.
Deane-Drummond, Major-General Anthony, 19 June 1976.
Farrar-Hockley, Major-General Anthony, 13 September 1976.
Gale, General Sir Richard, 6 July 1976.
Gray, Colonel W. N., 23 July 1976.
Gueritz, Admiral E. F., 18 May 1978.
Gutch, Sir John, 23 May 1978.
Hogan, Sir Michael, 10 May 1976.
Martin, Sir John M., 10 May 1978.
Moore, General Sir Rodney, 6 July 1976.
Nimrod, Mr. Dan, 14 June 1978.
Paget, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Julian, 10 August 1976.
Pawle, Mr. R. W. D., 18 May 1978.
Rigby, Sir Ivor, 27 April 1978.
Rymer-Jones, Brigadier John N., 5 March 1977.
Shaw, Mr. H. B., 2 February 1977.
Tugwell, Brigadier Maurice, 3 November 1976.

Newspapers:

The Daily Telegraph and Morning Post.
The International Herald Tribune.
The Manchester Guardian.
The New York Herald Tribune.
The New York Post.
The New York Times.
The Palestine Post.
The Times.
The Washington Post.

Secondary Sources

Books and Theses:

Allon, Yigal. The Making of Israel's Army. London: Valentine, 1971.

Allon, Yigal. Shield of David: The Story of Israel's Armed Forces. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970.

Attlee, Clement R. As it Happened. New York: Viking, 1945.

'Avner'. Memoirs of an Assassin. Trans. by Burgo Partridge. London: Anthony Blond, 1959.

Barnett, Correlli. Britain and Her Army, 1509-1970: A Military, Political and Social Survey. London: Allen Lane, 1970.

Bartlett, C. J. The Long Retreat: A Short History of British Defence Policy, 1945-70. London: Macmillan, 1972.

Bauer, Yehuda. From Diplomacy to Resistance: A History of Jewish Palestine, 1939-1945. Trans. by Alton M. Winters. New York: Atheneum, 1973.

Begin, Menachem. The Revolt: Story of the Irgun. Trans. by Samuel Katz. London: W. H. Allen, 1951.

Bell, J. Bowyer. On Revolt: Strategies of National Liberation. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976.

Bell, J. Bowyer. Terror Out of Zion: Irgun Zvai Leumi, Lehi, and the Palestine Underground, 1929-1949. New York: St. Martin's, 1977.

Bethell, Nicholas. The Palestine Triangle: The Struggle Between the British, the Jews and the Arabs 1935-48. London: André Deutsch, 1979.

Blaxland, Gregory. The Regiments Depart: A History of the British Army, 1945-1970. London: William Kimber, 1971.

Borisov, J. Palestine Underground: The Story of the Jewish Resistance. New York: Judea Publishing, 1947.

Bowden, Tom. The Breakdown of Public Security: The Case of Ireland 1916-1921 and Palestine 1936-1939. London and Beverly Hills, Cal.: Sage Publications, 1977.

Callwell, Colonel Charles E. Small Wars: Their Principles and Practice. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1909.

Carlton, David, and Carlo Schaerf (eds.). International Terrorism and World Security. London: Croom Helm, 1975.

Chalfont, Alun. Montgomery of Alamein. London: Methuen, 1977.

Chapman, Brian. Police State. London: Macmillan, 1970.

Churchill, Winston S. The Second World War. 6 Volumes. London: Cassell, 1948-54; reprinted 1956.

Cohen, Geula. Woman of Violence: Memoirs of a Young Terrorist, 1943-1948. Trans. by Hilliel Halkin. London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1966.

Cohen, Michael J. Palestine: Retreat from the Mandate: The Making of British Policy, 1936-1945. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1978.

Critchley, T. A. The Conquest of Violence: Order and Liberty in Britain. London: Constable, 1970.

Crozier, Brian. The Rebels: A Study of Post-war Insurrections. London: Chatto and Windus, 1960.

Darby, Phillip. British Defence Policy East of Suez 1947-1968. London: Oxford University Press, 1973.

Deane-Drummond, Anthony. Riot Control. London: Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies, 1975.

Dekel, Efraim. Shai: The Exploits of Hagana Intelligence. London and New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1959.

Donovan, Robert J. Conflict and Crisis: The Presidency of Harry S. Truman, 1945-1948. New York: Norton, 1977.

Earle, Edward Meade (ed.). Makers of Modern Strategy: Military Thought from Machiavelli to Hitler. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941; reprinted New York: Atheneum, 1967.

Eldad, Israel. The Jewish Revolution: Jewish Statehood. Trans. by Hannah Schmorak. New York: Shengold, 1971.

Elliott-Bateman, Michael (ed.). The Fourth Dimension of Warfare. 2 Volumes. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1970-74.

Ellul, Jacques. Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes. New York: Knopf, 1965.

Esco Foundation for Palestine. Palestine: A Study of Jewish, Arab and British Policies. 2 Volumes. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1947.

Farran, Roy. Winged Dagger: Adventures on Special Service. Morley, Yorks: Elmfield, 1948.

Feinstein, Marcia. 'The Irgun Campaign in the United States for a Jewish Army'. Unpublished M.A. thesis, City University of New York, 1973.

Fergusson, Bernard. The Trumpet in the Hall 1930-1958. London: Collins, 1970.

Fitzsimons, Matthew A. Empire by Treaty: Britain and the Middle East in the Twentieth Century. London: Ernest Benn, 1965.

Frank, Gerold. The Deed. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963.

Gale, General Sir Richard. Call to Arms. London: Hutchinson, 1968.

Goldsworthy, David. Colonial Issues in British Politics. London: Oxford University Press, 1971.

Graves, Richard M. Experiment in Anarchy. London: Victor Gollancz, 1949.

Greig, Ian. Subversion: Propaganda, Agitation, and the Spread of People's War. London: Tom Stacey, 1973.

Gwynn, Sir Charles. Imperial Policing. London: Macmillan, 1939.

Haber, Eitan. Menahem Begin: The Legend and the Man. Trans. by Louis Williams. New York: Delacorte, 1978.

Halperin, Samuel. The Political World of American Zionism. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1961.

Haswell, Jock. British Military Intelligence. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973.

Hayward, Brigadier P. H. C. (comp.). Jane's Dictionary of Military Terms. London: Macdonald and Jane's, 1975.

Higham, Robin. Armed Forces in Peacetime: Britain, 1918-1940, A Case Study. London: G. T. Foulis and Company, 1962.

Hinsley, F. H. British Intelligence in the Second World War: Its Influence on Strategy and Operations. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1979.

Huntington, Samuel P. The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations. New York: Random House, 1957.

Hurewitz, Jacob Coleman. The Struggle for Palestine. New York: Schocken, 1950; reprinted 1976.

Hyams, Edward. Terrorists and Terrorism. London: Dent, 1975.

Jeffries, Sir Charles Joseph. The Colonial Police. London: Max Parrish, 1952.

John, Robert and Sami Hadawi. The Palestine Diary. 2 Volumes. New York:

Katz, Samuel. Days of Fire. London: W. H. Allen, 1968.

Kimche, Jon. Seven Fallen Pillars: The Middle East, 1945-1952. New York: Praeger, 1953.

Kirk, George. The Middle East 1945-1950: Survey of International Affairs. London: Oxford University Press, 1954.

Kitson, Frank. Low Intensity Operations: Subversion, Insurgency, Peacekeeping. London: Faber, 1971; reprinted 1972.

Krammer, Arnold. The Forgotten Friendship: Israel and the Soviet Bloc, 1947-1953. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1974.

Laqueur, Walter. Terrorism. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977.

Lawrence, T. E. The Seven Pillars of Wisdom. London: Jonathan Cape, 1935.

Lee, J. M. Colonial Development and Good Government: A Study of the Ideas Expressed by the British Official Classes in Planning Decolonization, 1939-1964. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967.

Lerner, Daniel (ed.). Propaganda in War and Crisis: Materials for American Policy. New York: George W. Stewart, 1951.

Levine, Charles Jacob. 'Propaganda Techniques of the Bergson Group: 1939-48'. Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Texas, Austin, 1974.

Levine, Daniel. 'David Raziel, the Man and His Times'. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Yeshiva University, New York, 1969.

Lewin, Ronald. Montgomery as Military Commander. New York: Stein and Day, 1971.

Lockhart, Sir Robert Bruce. Comes the Reckoning. London: Putnam, 1947.

Lovell-Knight, Major A. V. The Story of the Royal Military Police. London: Leo Cooper, 1977.

Luttwak, Edward, and Dan Horowitz. The Israeli Army. London: Allen Lane, 1975.

Marlowe, John. Rebellion in Palestine. London: Cresset, 1946.

Marlowe, John. The Seat of Pilate: An Account of the Palestine Mandate. London: Cresset, 1959.

Meir, Golda. My Life. New York: Putnam, 1975.

Mitchell, Lieutenant-Colonel Colin. Having Been a Soldier. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1969.

Monroe, Elizabeth. Britain's Moment in the Middle East, 1914-1956. London: Chatto and Windus, 1963.

Montgomery of Alamein, Field Marshal Viscount. The Memoirs of Field Marshal Montgomery. London: Collins, 1958.

Paget, Julian. Counter-insurgency Campaigning. London: Faber, 1967.

Pedazur, Elazar. The History of the Irgun Zvai Leumi. 4 Volumes. Trans. by Katie Kaplan. Tel Aviv: Shilton Betar Department of Education, 1959-61.

Perlmutter, Amos. Military and Politics in Israel: Nation-building and Role Expansion. London: Frank Cass, 1969.

Roetter, Charles. Psychological Warfare. London: B. T. Batsford, 1974.

Rosecrance, R. N. Defence of the Realm: British Strategy in the Nuclear Epoch. New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1968.

Schechtman, Joseph. The United States and the Jewish State Movement. New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1966.

Silverberg, Robert. If I Forget Thee, O Jerusalem: American Jews and the State of Israel. New York: Pyramid Books, 1970.

Simson, H. J. British Rule, and Rebellion. London: William Blackwood, 1937.

Slim, Field Marshal Sir William. Unofficial History. London: Cassell, 1959; reprinted Corgi, 1970.

Snyder, William P. The Politics of British Defence Policy 1945-1962. Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1964.

Sykes, Christopher. Cross Roads to Israel. London: Collins, 1965.

Thompson, Sir Robert. Defeating Communist Insurgency: Experiences from Malaya and Vietnam. London: Chatto and Windus, 1966.

Townshend, Charles. The British Campaign in Ireland 1919-1921: The Development of Political and Military Policies. London: Oxford University Press, 1975.

Trevor, Daphne. Under the White Paper: Some Aspects of British Administration in Palestine from 1939 to 1947. Jerusalem: The Jerusalem Press, 1948.

Tugwell, Brigadier Maurice. 'Revolutionary Propaganda and Possible Counter-measures'. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, King's College, London, 1979.

Vagts, Alfred. A History of Militarism, Civilian and Military. New York: Meridian Books, 1959; reprinted 1967.

Weizmann, Chaim. Trial and Error: The Autobiography of Chaim Weizmann. New York: Harper, 1949; reprinted Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1972.

Wilkinson, Paul. Political Terrorism. London: Macmillan, 1974.

Wilkinson, Paul. Terrorism and the Liberal State. London: Macmillan, 1977.

Williams, Francis. A Prime Minister Remembers: The War and Post-war Memoirs of the Rt. Hon. Earl Attlee. London: Heinemann, 1961.

Wilson, R. D. Cordon and Search: With the 6th Airborne Division in Palestine. Aldershot: Gale and Polden, 1949.

Zaar, Isaac. Rescue and Liberation: America's Part in the Birth of Israel. New York: Bloch Publishing, 1954.

Articles:

Anderson, Brigadier Richard N. 'Search Operations in Palestine: The Problem of the Soldier'. Army Quarterly, Vol. LV, October/January, 1947/48.

Barclay, Brigadier C. N. 'British Forces and Internal Security: Past Experience and the Future'. Brassey's Annual. London: Brassey's, 1973.

Bauer, Yehuda. 'Rommel's Threat of Invasion, Zionist Policy, and the Jewish Underground in Palestine, 1942'. Studies in History, Vol. VII, 1961.

Bell, J. Bowyer. 'Revolts Against the Crown: The British Response to Imperial Insurgency'. Parameters, Vol. IV, 1974.

Brenner, Y. S. 'The Stern Gang, 1940-1948'. Middle Eastern Studies, Vol. II, 1965.

Brilliant, Moshe. 'Underground in Palestine: How the Jewish Resistance Movement Works'. Harper's Magazine, Vol. CXCIV, March, 1947.

Charters, David A. 'Special Operations in Counter-Insurgency: The Farran Case, Palestine 1947'. Journal of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies, Vol. CXXIV, June, 1979.

Clutterbuck, Lieutenant-Colonel Richard L. 'Bertrand Stewart Prize Essay, 1960'. Army Quarterly and Defence Journal, Vol. LXXXI, October, 1960.

Crossman, Richard H. S. 'Psychological Warfare'. Journal of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies, Vol. XCVII, August, 1952.

De Watteville, Lieutenant-Colonel H. 'The Employment of Troops Under the Emergency Regulations'. Army Quarterly, Vol. XII, April/July, 1926.

Fox, Captain K. O. 'Public Order: The Law and the Military'. Army Quarterly and Defence Journal, Vol. CXIX, April, 1974.

Hutchinson, Simon. 'The Police Role in Counter-insurgency Operations'. Journal of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies, Vol. CXIV, December, 1969.

Iviansky, Ze'ev. 'Individual Terror: Concept and Typology'. Journal of Contemporary History, Vol. XII, January, 1977.

Katz, Shlomo. 'Curfew in Jerusalem'. Commentary, Vol. II, December, 1946.

Katz, Shlomo. 'Understanding the Jewish Resistance in Palestine: The Aims and Methods of Hagana'. Commentary, Vol. II, July, 1946.

Klieman, Aaron S. 'Britain's War Aims in the Middle East'. Journal of Contemporary History, Vol. III, July, 1968.

Moore, Major P. N. M. 'The Other Side of the Kampong'. Army Quarterly, Vol. LII, July, 1946.

Pengelley, R. B. 'Internal Security: Some Recent British Developments'. International Defence Review, Vol. VI, October, 1973.

Roberts, Adam. 'The British Armed Forces and Politics: A Historical Perspective'. Armed Forces and Society, Vol. III, 1977.

Wilson, Evan M. 'The Palestine Papers, 1943-1947'. Journal of Palestine Studies, Vol. II, 1973.